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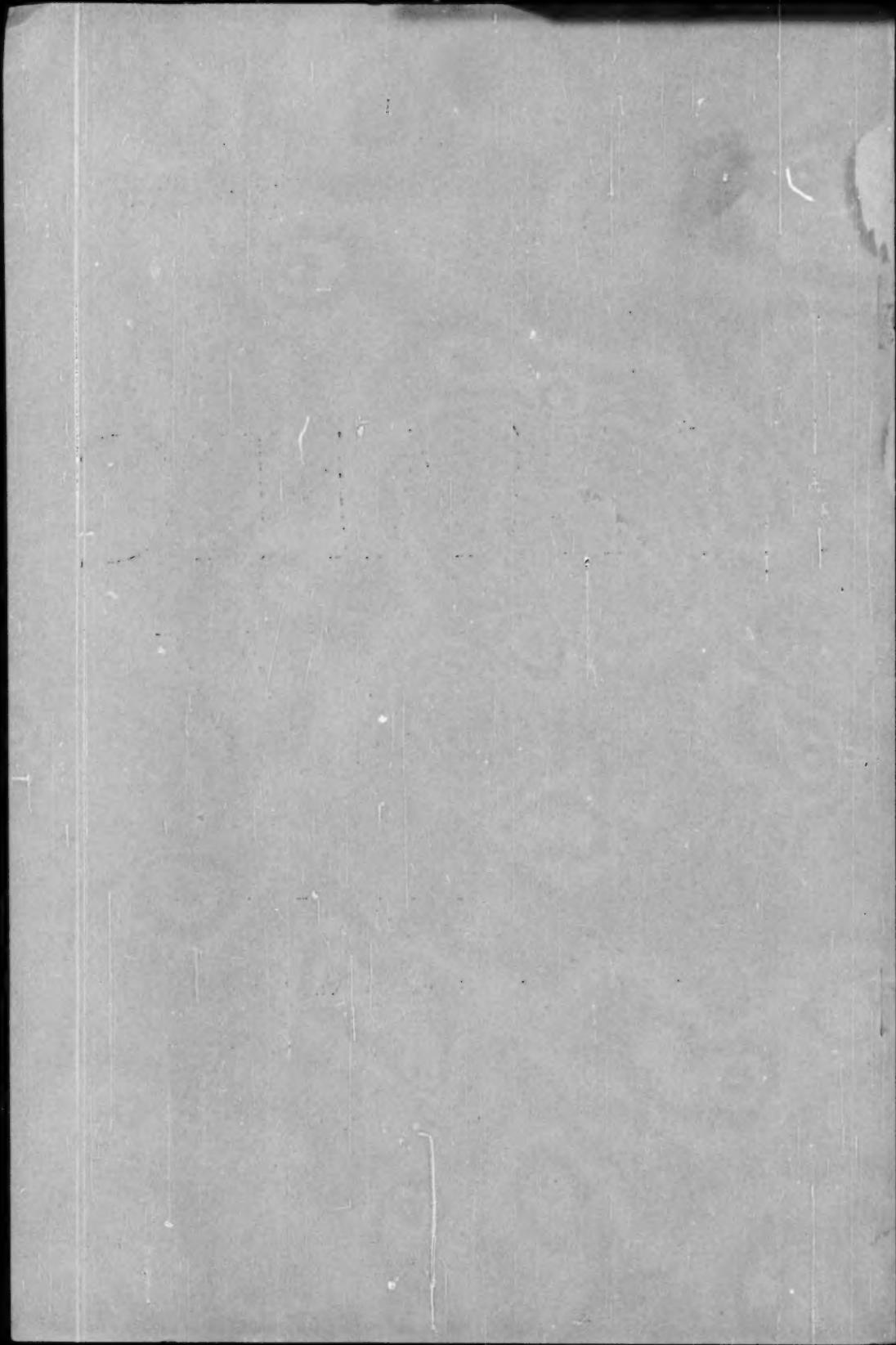
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THE
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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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VOLUME LI

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WAS THERE A ONE-STANZA PROVENÇAL TENSON?

By Kurt Lewent

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AMONG the 114 lyrical poems of Cerveri (de Girona) which have come down to us, there is one consisting of a stanza with *tornada*, whose topic is probably unique in world literature. It is preceded in the manuscript (Sg) by the following caption:

La cobla d'en Cerveri que sa dona dix que no li daria un bays si son pare no la'n pregava.

Its text runs thus:¹

Gentils domna, vença'us humilitatz
del vostr'amic que faitz morir languen;
3 per qu'eus vos prec que'l baysetz douçamen.
E ja non² er dans ne tortz ne pecatz,
ans seria mager tortz, ço sabjatz,³
6 s'el moria; c'un bays no'us costa tan
con vostr'amics a cels qui noyrit l'an.

Per Deu, fila,⁴ no'us sera malestan⁵
9 si retenetz vostr'amic⁶ en baysan.⁷

Editor's translation: "[*Habla el padre del enamorado:*] Gentil señora,
vénzaos la humildad de vuestro amigo, a quien hacéis morir languide-

1. No. 16 in the edition by Martín de Riquer, *Obras completas del trovador Cerveri de Girona* (Barcelona, 1947).

2. Riquer: *non*; we think that it is unnecessary to introduce an *en* here.

3. Riquer: *sabjatz*. This spelling would make the verbal form trisyllabic and the line hypermetric. The cesura of the decasyllabic line lies after *seria* and is a so-called lyric cesura. The rest of the line is to comprise six syllables. So we suppose the scribe's *sabjatz* stands for what is usually spelt *safchaz*.

4. The manuscript has *si la* for *fila*; the conjecture is the editor's, necessary and evident, it seems to me. The fact that the scribe has not indicated the palatalization of the *l* is not surprising; he frequently writes *l* where -*ill-* or -*lh-* should be expected. Some examples of his inconsistency: he writes *myllor* (40,23), but *melor* (38, 6 and 17) and *melura* (24, 31); *fyll(s)* (61, 5 etc.), but *fyl* (61,13); *fail* (38,5), but *fal* (52, 35). The poem No. 38 is especially characteristic in this respect. There we find the following words forming rimes in -*ah*: *fail* (1, 5), *tal* (post-verbal noun from *talhar*, 1, 6), *trebayll* (1, 15), *barayll* (1, 16), *sal* (= *salh*, 1, 25), *nual* (= *nualh*, 1, 26), *badal* (1, 31), *sonal* (1, 32).

5. Riquer: *mal estan*; but *malestan* is generally considered to be one word, an adjective, which, substantivized, is also used as a noun.

6. Riquer: *amics*, according to the manuscript. I thought it justified to correct the scribe's mistake.

7. The editor does not separate the *tornada* from the stanza proper. In a list of

ciendo; por lo que yo os ruego que lo beséis dulcemente. No habrá en ello daño, falta ni pecado, antes bien sabed que mayor falta sería si él muriese; porque un beso no os cuesta tanto como [costó] vuestro amigo a los que lo han criado.

[*Habla el padre de la doncella:*] Por Dios, hija, no os estaría nada mal que retuvierais a vuestro amigo al besarlo."

This translation agrees with the analysis of the stanza given in the introduction preceding it: "La *cobla* es un género menor dialogado, como una *tensó* reducida. En la presente, los interlocutores son el padre del trovador y el padre de una doncella." But can one speak of interlocutors if two persons sharing the same opinion address a third, who remains speechless, to persuade her to do a thing? In a Provençal *tenson*, at least, there has to be a certain antagonism between the two speakers. Moreover, no specimen of this literary genre would allot a whole stanza to one of the debaters while the other has to be satisfied with a *tornada* of two lines. True, the above quoted caption, saying *son pare*, leaves some doubt as to which father is meant, the lady's or the lover's. However, the way the girl is addressed in the beginning of the poem (*Gentils domna*) clearly shows that the loving poet had his own father in mind. On the other hand, there is not the slightest hint, either in the caption or the poem itself, that the girl's father, too, is involved. But how, then, explain the second apostrophe to the lady (*Per Deu, filia*) which starts the *tornada*?

The solution of this seeming discrepancy pivots upon the word *filia* and its meaning. Latin *filia* underwent, in some of the Romance languages, a special semantic development which deprived it of its original designation, viz. "the female offspring of a family," keeping of its characteristics only the concept of youthfulness in comparison to the more advanced age of her parents. In other words it went from "daughter" to "(young) girl." According to W. von Wartburg (FEW III, 518) the beginnings of this development are already seen in Latin. Although French examples are not available before the fifteenth century, Wartburg is of the opinion that, to judge from the derivations of *file*, this word is likely to have adopted the new meaning as early as the twelfth century (see l.c., pp. 516 and 517 a). We may quote in this connection the following passages from Du Cange: s.v. *filia*: 'puella' 'quomodo Galli dicimus

corrections to be made to his texts which he sent me some years ago, he included this one. That the last two lines constitute the *tornada* results not only from its content, but also from the fact that the metrical construction of the stanza is not one of Cerveri's invention. It is found also in poems of other troubadours: Sordel P.-C. 437, 29; Peire Cardenal P.-C. 335, 34; Anonymous P.-C. 461, 235; Arnaut de Maruelh P.-C. 30, 3. The last named poem, being a *canson*, is the prototype of the three others. See István Frank, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours I* (Paris, 1953), No. 495.

"une fille" in *Pactu leg. Salicae* tit. 70 §1 (III, 495) and s.v. *filius* 'juvenis masculus' with this Old French passage (anno 1411): *Lequel serpent avoit pris et arresté un jeune filz de l'aage de dix-huit ans* (III, 498). In his treatise "*Enfant*," "*garçon*," "*fille*" dans les langues romanes (Lund, 1919), p. 96, Ivan Pauli remarks that all over the south of France, *fiho*, *filho* is used in the sense of "jeune fille."

The situation in Old Provençal is similar to that indicated by Wartburg for Old French. Levy's *Pet. Dict.* lists *filhota* "jeune fille," and *filha salhida* as well as *filheta* and *filhola* "prostituée." The Catalan dictionaries—Aguiló IV, 37 and Alcover-Moll V, 881 No. 7—offer the same example for *filla* "noia, fadrina, donzella": *E la filla havia nom Maria e lo pare mes-li nom Mario e maná-li que no digués a negú con era filla ne le nom que solia aver*, to which Alcover-Moll add a second passage: *Ara penseu que, de filla, so texidora*. Moreover, the last named dictionary (V, 881, 2 c) gives the following definition of *fill*: "nom afec tuos amb què es parla a qualsevol persona volent li demostrar bona estimació." We presume that this statement is also true of the feminine *filla*.

On the ground of the foregoing discussion we do not hesitate to assign to the word *filla*, in Catalan if not in Provençal, the meaning "girl." If we interpret the word this way, there remains no difficulty in assuming that the whole poem, stanza as well as *tornada*, is supposed to be spoken by one person, the young man's father. We may add that, in the light of the above quoted definition of Catalan *fill*, aware as he must have been of it, Cerveri took the *tornada* beyond its prosodic requisites and gave it a fine and subtle stylistic shading. The young man's father, having implored the girl to grant her lover the kiss in question, addressing her with the courteous and respectful phrase *Gentils domna* in the stanza proper, summarizes his request in the *tornada*: apparently overcome by his own feelings, he speaks to the girl in a less formal, more emotional and insistent way, calling her "girl"—with the special meaning of *filla* just explained—and conjuring her by God to fulfill her lover's wish.

It may be permitted to add two more textual remarks:

1. The "humility" of 1. 1 is, in our opinion, the lady's, not the lover's, as the editor's translation would have us understand. Even the syntactical construction of the first two lines would seem to bear out this interpretation. If *del vost'amic* were meant to be a qualifier to *humilitatz*, one should expect the definite article to precede the latter noun.⁸ Of greater importance, however, seems to me the purport of the passage. The unwillingness of the girl to kiss her lover originates from pride,

8. The *de* in *del* would then be "concerning, with respect to." May humility, the poet says, overcome you (i.e., your pride) with regard to your friend.

against which the young man's father evokes the idea of "humility." *Humilitat* and *orgoill* are concepts frequently dealt with in troubadour lyrics. The following passage from a poem of Arnaut de Maruelh (P.-C. 30,23 ed. Johnston No. XXIII, St. II) is especially illuminating in this respect and tends to corroborate our interpretation. Arnaut, too, contrasting those two psychical attitudes with each other, appeals to his lady's humility, which he declares to be an indispensable quality of a true and noble *donna*:

Bonna dompna, paratges et ricors,
on plus aut es e de maior afaire,
deu mais en si d'umilitat aver,
car ab orguoill non pot bos pretz caber,
qui gen no'l sap ab chausimen cobrir.
E pois no'm puosc de vos amar sofrir,
per merce'us prec e per unmilitat
c'ab vos trobes calacom pietat.

2. In l. 7 M. de Riquer supplies, from the preceding line, the verbal form *costó*. This preterite gives the impression that the editor would have the lover's father say that the bringing up of his son had cost the parents a great deal of care, trouble, efforts, and, perhaps, money. I think that ll. 6-7 are to be interpreted differently. If a verbal form is to be supplied at all, it should be the conditional *costaria*. In ll. 4-6 the father points out to the girl that there would be no harm in kissing her lover, and if so, the harm done to her reputation could not be compared to that caused to the parents by their son's death. L. 2 with the words *que faitz morir languen* and l. 6 with *s'el moria* indicate rather clearly that he considers that sad event unavoidable, if she clings to her refusal.

So the poem presents itself as spoken throughout by the young man's father. If we accept the rather odd subject and the idea that a lover needs his father's power of persuasion to win over his girl, we have to admit that the stanza is not without a certain charm. The father acquits himself of his commission rather skilfully. He first uses the traditional troubadour concept of a lover who will die if his love is not requited by the lady. But then, by pointing out to the girl how great the loss of the parents would be if their son should die through her adherence to the attitude of a haughty and inaccessible troubadour lady, he strikes a note quite unknown to troubadour lyrics, one more human, more characteristic of middle-class family life, than of the courtly love of feudal times.

No one will ever know whether the little poem was inspired by a real event or owes its existence only to a whim of the poet. In the latter case, it is not unlike those often far-fetched dilemmatic questions discussed in the *jocs partitz*. They, too, had no relation to reality; they, too, were

never expected to be solved, they were there only to show the troubadours' gift for inventing such themes, their wit, and their skill in molding thought into poetical form. If, however, the poem had a fact as basis, we can only wish that the father's pleading may have been crowned with the success it deserved.

JEAN LE BLOND'S DEFENSE OF THE
FRENCH LANGUAGE (1549)

By Robert E. Hallowell

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JUDGED from the vantage ground of the twentieth century Joachim du Bellay's celebrated *Défense et illustration de la langue françoise* can claim little originality, distinction of style, or validity of argument. Emile Roy, Henri Chamard, Ferdinand Brunot, and Pierre Villey have meticulously exposed the "plagiarisms," the serious defects of composition, the naïveté and superficiality apparent in the manifesto of the Brigade.¹ Their conclusions seem to indicate that, although the *Défense* escaped the oblivion of similar contemporary works, its survival was not the result of its own intrinsic merits, but was due rather to the overwhelming prestige of its author, Du Bellay, and of its sponsors, Ronsard and the other members of the Brigade. Despite its shortcomings as a literary work, no one, however, has denied its importance as a landmark of French literature or the influence which it exerted on French letters of the 1550's. By what F. Desonay in his excellent introduction to the commemorative edition of the *Défense* (Droz, 1950) so aptly called a "geste de piété," official recognition of the work as a great national document was accorded in ceremonies held December 21, 1949 at the Hôtel de Guise in honor of the fourth centennial of its publication.

According to both Brunot and Chamard, Du Bellay's defense of the French language came after "twenty others,"² but nowhere do the two eminent historians of the French language and the Pléiade list all twenty predecessors of the *Défense*. Indeed it is impossible to know whether this figure was arrived at by actual count or whether it was simply meant to indicate that such treatises were in great vogue at the beginning of the sixteenth century and that Du Bellay's opus had by no means set the style. Geofroy Tory's *Champ fleury* (1529), Jacques Peletier du Mans' *L'Art poétique d'Horace* (1544 or 1545), Etienne Dolet's *Maniere de bien traduire d'une langue en autre* (1540), his preface to his translation of

1. Cf. E. Roy, "Lettre d'un Bourguignon, contemporaine de la *Défense et illustration de la langue françoise*," RHLF, 15 April 1895; and in the same journal 15 July 1897: "Charles Fontaine et ses amis. Sur une page obscure de la *Défense*"; H. Chamard, *Joachim du Bellay* (Lille, 1900), pp. 106 ff; F. Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française* (Paris, 1906), II, 80-87; P. Villey, *Les Sources italiennes de la "Défense et illustration de la langue françoise"* Paris, 1908).

2. Brunot, II, 83; Chamard, *Histoire de la Pléiade* (Paris, 1939), I, 177.

Cicero's letters (1542), and Jacques de Beaune's *Discours comme une langue vulgaire se peut perpetuer* (1548) are well known forerunners of the *Deffence*.

Among the obscure or unknown pleas for the use of French as a literary language, perhaps included in the group of Brunot and Charnard's "twenty others" but not mentioned by either, is Jean Le Blond's extremely curious *Preambule, touchant la noblesse, grace, et tres-ancienne dignité de la langue Francoise, qui peult estre une allumette à enflammer toutes personnes gentilles, à soy exercer audict language, & en la douce faconde, & divine poesie d'iceluy*. This brief essay of 12 pages appeared as the translator's preface to the second part of the *Livre de police humaine*, a book of excerpts chosen by Gilles d'Aurigny from the popular work of the Italian humanist, Francesco Patrizi, on the monarchy and the republic as political institutions and translated from the Latin by Jean Le Blond, Sieur de Branville.³ Although 1549 is given as the official date of publication of this third French edition of the work, the *achevé d'imprimer* is dated 20 February 1548, and the composition of Le Blond's preamble thus antedates the *Deffence* by at least one year. (The first edition of the *Deffence* appeared 15 February 1549). It is interesting to note that the two previous editions of the *Livre de police humaine* of 1544 and 1546 did not contain the translator's apology for the French language, nor did the final edition of 1554.

The patriotic intent of the *Deffence* is manifest throughout the work. Du Bellay, stung by the contempt of the Italians for French poetry, set about defending his native tongue as best he could, stressing particularly the great potentialities of the language if properly used and developed. The same patriotism motivated Jean Le Blond and in fact led him to the most absurd exaggerations. Already in Part One of the *Livre de police humaine*, Le Blond had addressed a *dizain* to all noble readers "amoureux de la langue Francoise," reminding them that foreigners had always found French so much to their liking that they were eager to substitute it for their native tongues. After claiming the superiority of French over English, Walloon, Flemish, Castilian, Italian, and Tuscan, the author concluded that "en beaulté & faconde,/ L'honneur des autres sauf, la langue Gallicane/ Est le choix, le triomphe, & l'eslite du monde." In his preamble to Part Two of the book Le Blond will go to a step farther and base the superiority of the French language on the principle of primogeniture. After a few preliminary remarks in which he terms

3. The complete title of the French edition is *Le Livre de police humaine, contenant briefve description de plusieurs choses dignes de memoire. Extrait des grandz volumes de Francys Patrice de Senes en Italie, evesque de Caiete, par maistre Gilles d'Aurigny, advocat en parlement: traduict de Latin, en Francois, par maistre Iehan le Blond, & dedié à hault & puissant seigneur Messire Claude d'Annebault Admiral & Mareschal de France* (Paris: Charles L'Angelié, 1549).

the tongue the noblest of man's organs and implies that language is the noblest expression of man's intellect, he states the two-fold purpose of his preamble: to show the great antiquity and importance of the Gallic language and in so doing to kindle such pride and patriotism in his contemporaries that they will strive to restore their ancient tongue to its pristine glory.

Whereas Du Bellay, inspired by Sperone Speroni, proceeded on the modest assumption that all languages are created equal, conceding, however, that French was then inferior to Latin and Greek not because of inherent deficiencies but rather as a result of neglect and disuse, Le Blond claimed at the outset the superiority of French over the classical languages "à raison de son ancienneté." Ignoring the evolution of French and following the fantastic theories of Berosus Babylonicus and Jean Lemaire de Belges who traced the ancestors of the Gauls back to Noah himself, Le Blond applied the same theories to the origin of the language of the Gauls and hence of the French. Thus the French language was created during the time of Noah, was transmitted by Noah's son Japheth, the progenitor of the French nation, through the latter's son Samothes, the first king of Gaul. It was Samothes who taught the Gauls philosophy and astronomy and gave them their alphabet, which, according to Berosus, was Phoenician. Le Blond, citing a statement of a pseudo-Xenophon that the Greeks received their alphabet from Cadmus shortly before the fall of Troy, concludes that the Gauls were literate before the Greeks: "Il appert donc, que les Gaullois, des le regne de Noë, auoient lettres Pheniciennes: parquoy il est clair qu'ilz ont l'honneur deuant les Grecz."⁴ In addition to his other attainments, Samothes founded a sect of philosophers called *Samothèes*, later known as Druids, and thus Le Blond, alleging Diogenes Laërtius as his authority, claims for the Gauls along with the Chaldeans and Babylonians the honor of being the creators of philosophy.⁵

Fantastic as the genealogies of Berosus Babylonicus and Jean Lemaire de Belges seem to us, they were considered authoritative and were repeated by French historians until the end of the sixteenth century. In fact, Lemaire de Belges used Berosus as his prime source for the *Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troye* because the latter's history of the Creation agreed so well with the Old Testament and could be fre-

4. This statement Le Blond found in a collection of spurious pieces concerning the Creation and the Flood entitled *De his quae præcesserunt inundationem terrarum* edited by Tory in 1510 and based on an earlier edition of 1498, which purported to be the work of Berosus and others but in reality was the literary hoax of its editor Joannes Annus. The false Xenophon item is entitled *De equivocis temporum*. Le Blond was apparently unfamiliar with Herodotus' similar statement concerning the Phoenician origin of the Greek alphabet (V, 58).

5. Cf. Diogenes Laërtius, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, Book I, II, 1-9.

quently corroborated by Holy Writ. It is significant that two years after Le Blond's defense of the French language by right of primogeniture, Guillaume Postel published *Les Raisons de la monarchie*, in which, basing his argument on the same premise and using the same primary sources, Berosus and Josephus, he claimed supreme and universal dominance for the French monarchy. In his recent work on Postel, W. J. Bouwsma has called this argument "the most comprehensive, if not necessarily the most convincing, justification for French world leadership in the sixteenth century, if not in the entire history of French thought."⁶

In Chapter II of the *Defence Du Bellay* deplores and refutes the charges of barbarism made by the Greeks and Romans in referring to the language and manners of the Gauls. Le Blond, on the other hand, cites various Greek and Latin writers to prove his point that "nostre langue Gauloise ayt esté au temps passé en cours & fleur" and that it was held in high honor in ancient times. Probably the most impressive testimony in classical antiquity to the great esteem in which eloquence was held by the Gauls is contained in Lucian's famous description of the Gallic Hercules in the *Heracles*, where he is depicted as drawing his followers after him by chains of gold and amber fastened to their ears and to the god's pierced tongue. This symbolic representation of the Gallic Hercules as god of eloquence appealed to French national pride and was frequently alluded to throughout the sixteenth century.⁷ Du Bellay found it fitting to end the *Defence* by exhorting his compatriots to remember their "Hercule Gallique, tirant les peuples apres luy par leurs oreilles avecques une chesne attachée à sa langue." Le Blond, who found in the *Champ fleury* a French translation of Lucian's passage made by Tory from Erasmus' Latin version of the original Greek, copies almost word for word Tory's far-fetched conclusions that Lucian, in relating the myth of the Gallic Hercules, thereby implies that the Gallic language is "si gracieux, que s'il est prononcé d'homme discret, sage, & aagé, il ha si grande efficace, qu'il persuade plustost & mieux, que le Latin, ny que le Grec. Doncques les Latins & Grecz le confessent, quand ilz disent que cestuy Hercules estoit Gaullois."⁸ In order to give further weight to this argument, Le Blond, obviously relying once more on Lemaire de Belges's fabulous genealogies, states that it is absolutely certain that Hercules was king of Gaul, great magician, astronomer, and teacher,

6. William J. Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi: The Career and Thought of Guillaume Postel (1510-1581)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 219. Bouwsma would have us believe that Postel "disagreed with the old tradition represented by Jean Lemaire de Belges, who had derived the peoples of Gaul from Troy" (p. 220). While it is true that Jean Lemaire emphasized the direct descent of the kings of France from Francus, son of Hector, he also followed Berosus and the apochryphal Joannes Annuius in tracing the lineage ultimately to Noah.

7. Cf. Chamard's critical edition of the *Defence* (Paris, 1904), p. 341, note 2.

8. Cf. Tory, *Champ fleury*, folios II and III.

who married Galathea, daughter of the Celtic Jupiter, "dont porte le nom iusques aujourdhuy nostre Gaulle Celtique." Furthermore, Hercules was so charmed by the Seine and the site of Paris that he began to erect a city there and left behind a band of his Parrhasian troops who were to give their name to the city and its inhabitants.⁹ Among other Greek and Latin authors who testified to the eloquence of the Gauls, Le Blond cites Pomponius Mela, who, he says, declared that the Gauls were of all nations the most eloquent by nature, and Juvenal, who credited them with instructing English lawyers in the art of elocution.¹⁰

Having proved, to his satisfaction at least, that the French language is superior to Latin and Greek by virtue of its greater age and that the Greeks and Latins acknowledged its superior grace and persuasiveness, Le Blond then appeals to French nobles as a matter of national pride to subsidize writers who would be able to "dilater, multiplier, & accroistre nostre Francoise langue." Under such stimulus France would see a flowering of its language and literature unparalleled in ancient Greece and Rome.

Le Blond places himself, unwittingly no doubt, on the side of Sebillot and the *marotistes* in the literary quarrel over the relative merits of translation of the ancients into French, which developed after the publication of the *Defence*. Sebillot in Chapter XIV of his *Art poétique françois* commended translation as a "glorieus labeur," a point of view with which the Pléiade differed radically. The issue had apparently been debated before the appearance of the *Defence*, since Le Blond answers the objections of those who viewed translation as a pernicious practice, by stating that the French language is capable of translating the ancients; but at the same time he seemed to imply that there were certain dangers of a moral nature to be risked in turning into French the erotic literature of Greece and Rome: "La langue Francoise peult estre ministre de grand vanité, en couchant en icelle choses lascives & scandaleuses." The principal danger of corruption would come from Greece: "Le miel de Grece, sur tous est estimé: mais ceste terre produict aussi vng miel enuenimé, & plein de poison."

Le Blond, who made his chief contribution to the literary life of his age in the rôle of translator, confined himself largely to translating besides Patrizi such neo-Latin contemporaries as Sir Thomas More and Johannes Carion. Only one of the ancients elicited his interest, Valerius

9. This fictitious derivation of Paris and Parisian from Parrhasia, the region in Greece from which Hercules's troops supposedly came, Le Blond found in the *Champ fleury*, folio VI.

10. Once again Le Blond is merely paraphrasing Tory, who exaggerates Pomponius Mela's simple statement: "Habent tamen et facundiam suam...." Cf. Tory, *Champ fleury*, folio II and Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis*, Liber III, Caput II. Juvenal's remark may be found in Satire XV.

Maximus.¹¹ Le Blond would have been indignant at our classification of him as a *marotiste*, however, since he fancied himself a great rival of the translator of the psalms of David. With a volume of inane poetry and an epithalamium to James V of Scotland and Madeleine of France to his credit,¹² he must have felt his literary reputation secure enough to attack Marot, then in exile, in two exaggerated *Epîtres*, which he hoped would persuade François I not to yield to the poet's pleas to return to France. Marot showed his extreme contempt by not deigning to reply.¹³

After having based his entire defense of the French language on its antiquity, Le Blond concludes his preamble by reminding his compatriots that French poetry likewise had its beginnings in ancient times among the Gallic bards, as Jean Lemaire de Belges had amply proved, and he further cites a classical authority to testify to the high esteem in which the Gauls held poetry. According to Diodorus Siculus, the bards frequently intervened in the midst of battle and were able so to soothe the angry warriors on both sides that the battle ceased and Mars yielded to the Muses.¹⁴ With such glorious and venerable traditions to inspire them, Le Blond urges his contemporaries to participate in the renascence of the French language and French letters:

Or doncques puis que nostre langue ha esté si bien estimée, louée, exaltée, & autresfois en honneur & magnificence, comme nous l'auons suffisamment prouvé par tesmoignages des estrangers, donnons ordre (nobles facteurs, poëtes, & orateurs Francoys) chascun en son endroict, de la faire reuiure, & renaistre plus florissante qu'elle ne fut iamais, ainsi qu'on y ha desia bien commencé par œuvres louables & fructeux, & conducibles, comme par proses, oraisons liées, nobles poesies, & belles traductions, conformes & voysines à nostre loy

11. More, *La description de l'isle d'Utopie*, Paris, 1550; Carion, *Les Chroniques . . . avec les faictz et gestes du roy François, jusques au règne du roy Henry, deuxiesme de ce nom, à présent régnant*, Paris, 1553; *Valère le Grand en françois, où sont compris les faictz et dictz dignes de mémoire, tant des vertueux personnaiges que des vitieux. Ensemble le 10^e livre dudit Valère, qui au paravant n'avoit esté mis en lumière* (Paris, 1548).

12. *Le Printemps de l'Humble espérant, autrement dict Jehan Leblond, seigneur de Branville, où sont compris plusieurs petitz œuvres semez de fleurs, fruit et verdure qu'il a composez en son jeune aage, fort récréatif, comme on pourra veoir à la table* (Paris, A. Langelier, 1536); *Nuptiaux virelays du mariage du roy d'Ecosse et de ma dame Magdeleine, première fille de France, ensemble d'une ballade de l'apparition des trois deesses, avec le Blazon de la cosse . . . fait par Branville, s.l., s.d.*

13. Cf. La Croix du Maine et Du Verdier, *Les Bibliothèques françoises*, I, 432-33; Abbé Goujet, *Bibliothèque Françoise*, XI, 102-12.

14. Cf. Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History*, Book V, 31. Le Blond fails to mention Diodorus' uncomplimentary remarks about the speech of the Gauls contained in the same passage: "The Gauls are terrifying in aspect and their voices are deep and altogether harsh; when they meet together they converse with few words and in riddles, hinting darkly at things for the most part and using one word when they mean another; and they like to talk in superlatives, to the end that they may extol themselves and deprecate all other men. They are also boasters and threateners and are fond of pompous language."

Chrestienne, consonantes avec les bonnes mœurs: ce qui sera à l'aduantaige d'un chascun honneur à Dieu, accroissance de nostre langue, gloire à la nation, & loz de perpetuelle renommée aux gentilz ouuriers.

Le Blond's defense of the French language may be regarded as a literary curiosity. Taking ancient and medieval traditions about the origin and eloquence of the Gauls, which he found mostly in *Tory* and *Le maire de Belges*, the author manipulated them to glorify the language of his nation's ancestors. Therein lies the only originality of this document, unless we consider Le Blond's colossal audacity itself as its chief originality. All of the defenses of French appearing during the period claimed that the vernacular could become the equal of Latin and perhaps also of Greek after proper development; a few even claimed that it could become superior; but probably none equaled Le Blond's temerity in asserting at the outset the superiority of French to the classical languages. His *Préambule* reveals perhaps more patently than any of the other treatises the strong patriotic feeling and purpose of these documents. If we consider Le Blond's claims for the French language with those made by Postel for the French monarchy, we see the almost Messianic form which French nationalism took in the sixteenth century; on the basis of this, relying on the alleged authority of the ancients, the French could consider themselves, to borrow Le Blond's own phrase, "le choix, le triumphe, & l'eslite du monde."

TWO STATES OF A DIDEROT TEXT

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Les prétendus connaisseurs en
fait de style chercheront vainement à me déchiffrer. (I,177)¹

RESEARCH into Diderot's stylistic workmanship has profited greatly from the uncovering of manuscript material, and it seems increasingly evident that the *Philosophe* must be treated as a conscious stylist.² At the same time, however, the manuscripts retain their share of mystery and often provoke more problems than they resolve. Partly by his diffident and careless attitude towards his own manuscripts, partly by capricious remarks on the subject of his stylistic elaboration, Diderot complicated these questions still further.³

There remain valid techniques for research into Diderot's literary procedures, one of which, oddly enough, need not have awaited the *Fonds Vandœul*. We know that he did not hesitate to repeat himself, occasionally in sizeable passages. Comparison of these doublets, wrought at different times into distinct contexts, turns up many aspects of his compositional techniques. By watching Diderot shape a given unit to varying literary functions, we catch the artist *sur le fait* and thus examine his approach to the art of prose.

One particularly revealing pair of texts, though known to scholars for years,⁴ has not yet been studied in detail. In *Jacques le Fataliste* Diderot

1. All references to Diderot's works are to the *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. by J. Assézat and M. Tourneux, 20 volumes (Paris, 1875-77).

2. See Jean Pommier's outstanding article, "La Copie Naigeon du *Rêve de d'Alembert* est retrouvée," *RHL*, LII (1952), 25-47. Professor Dieckmann's work on Diderot's style appears throughout his research, but variant studies are found principally in "The Préface-Annexe of *La Religieuse*," in *Diderot Studies II* (Syracuse, 1952), pp. 21-147, and in his critical edition of the *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville* (Geneva and Lille, 1955). Insights may be found in R. Etienne, "Diderotesques," *Le Disque Vert*, mai-juin 1953, pp. 32-47. Charly Guyot, in *Diderot par lui-même* (Paris, 1953), describes Diderot's work habits (pp. 77-78). General treatments of Diderot's style may be found in Leo Spitzer, *Linguistics and Literary History* (Princeton, 1948), pp. 135-91 and in Richard A. Sayce, *Style in French Prose* (Oxford, 1953), though neither work is concerned with *le travail du style*.

3. See, for example, Herbert Dieckmann, "Préface-Annexe," especially pp. 30 and 78.

4. Jules Assézat, in Volume X of the *Oeuvres complètes*, noted the passage in the *Salon de 1765* and its resemblance to the text in *Jacques*, which had already appeared without note in Volume VI. He suggested that Diderot's memory was responsible, and faulty at that. August Langen, in his extensive treatment of "Die Technik der Bildbeschreibung in Diderots Salons," *RF*, LXI (1948), 324-87, referred to the scene in

reproduced an episode found in the *Salon de 1765*.⁵ It is these parallel texts that we propose to discuss here.

It is difficult to determine how many years separate their composition. The date of the *Salon* text is clear. But in the case of *Jacques*, evidence presently available can only suggest that the novel was probably finished by 1772 or 1773. The novel contained the episode when at last it was distributed to Grimm's subscribers, in manuscript copies, between November 1778 and June 1780; this fact provides a *terminus ante quem*. Of special interest is the manuscript copy now found in Leningrad: the episode in question is one of several which were inserted, as unnumbered pages, into this copy; this suggests that it was a later addition. On the other hand, in the light of Diderot's work habits, the text may have been composed long before it officially became part of *Jacques*.

The difficulty of dating makes it necessary to consider the texts on their own terms, for it is impossible to learn whether or not Diderot wrote the episode in *Jacques* with the *Salon* passage before his eyes. Though it seems apparent that the text in the *Salon de 1765* is earlier,⁶ the point is not crucial; whether the differences between the two resulted from a conscious or an unconscious evolution, Diderot in each case shaped the episode to fit its artistic context. Our inquiry then will be limited to this shaping process; even within these limits an image of the craftsman at work emerges.



In the following transcription, the aim has been to match corresponding parts of each relation. Individual segments have been numbered in order in the *Salon* version; these numbers identify similar parts of the *Jacques* narrative and are enclosed in parentheses when they appear in a different position. In two cases new sentences appear in *Jacques*: they have been numbered 8a and 11a to indicate that they follow sections 8 and 11, though not appearing in the first version. In the text from *Jacques*, *Jacques* (J) is speaking to his Master (M).

Jacques because it mentions Fragonard. It is curious that he did not seem to know about the counterpart in the *Salon de 1765*. Finally Paul Vernière, in "Diderot et l'invention littéraire," *RHL*, LIX (1959), 153-67, analyzes the factual content of both passages in an effort to track down the source for the character of Hudson (cf. p. 159).

5. *Salon*, X, 337; *Jacques*, VI, 193-94.

6. Paul Vernière (*loc. cit.*, p. 158) argues that the clear mediocrity of Diderot's articles for Grimm's newsletter proves that they generally preceded other works in which like material appears. He raises the question of Diderot's memory and concludes, apropos of a similar doublet, "Il n'y a pas là souvenir, thème apparenté, mais lecture d'une lettre ancienne, reprise des termes, composition d'un nouveau tableau, identité du commentaire" (p. 160).

Salon de 1765 (X, 337)

1. Imaginez [...] un fiacre qui s'en va entre onze heures et midi à Saint-Denis.

Jacques le Fataliste (VI, 193-94)

1. J: Placez-vous devant la fontaine des Innocents ou proche la porte Saint-Denis; ce sont deux accessoires qui enrichiront la composition.
M: M'y voilà.
2. J: Voyez au milieu de la rue un fiacre, la soupente cassée, et renversé sur le côté.
M: Je le vois.
3. J: Un moine et deux filles en sont sortis.
4. Le moine se met à courir;
- (7) Le cocher se hâte de descendre de son siège.
5. Un caniche du fiacre s'est mis à la poursuite du moine, et l'a saisi par sa jaquette;
6. le moine fait tous ses efforts pour se débarrasser du chien.
7. le fiacre, qui ne veut pas perdre sa course, descend de son siège, et va au moine.
- [see above]
- (9) Une des filles, débraillée, la gorge découverte, se tient les côtés à force de rire.
8. L'autre fille, qui s'est fait une bosse au front, est appuyée contre la portière, et se presse la tête à deux mains.
- [see above]

8a. Cependant la populace s'est at-troupée.

10. les marchands et les marchandes en riaient aussi sur leurs portes; [see below]

11. et les polissons qui s'étaient ras-semblés, criaient au moine: "Il a chié au lit! Il a chié au lit!"

11. les polissons accourent et pou-sent des cris,

(10) les marchands et les marchandes ont bordé le seuil de leurs bou-tiques,

11a. et d'autres spectateurs sont à leurs fenêtres.

12. "Cela est excellent," dit Bau-douin.

12. M: Comment diable! Jacques, ta composition est bien ordonnée, riche, plaisante, et pleine de mou-vement.

Generally speaking, the texts differ in a paradoxical way: the passage from the *Salon* describes less a painting than a subject which might be painted. And the text inserted into *Jacques* actually does describe a painting which the narrator, Jacques himself, sees in his mind's eye. This difference will become clearer in the analysis of the two versions.

In terms of content, defined loosely as the details of the story, the pas-sages are virtually identical; nonetheless there have been deletions, all of which are revealing. One of the girls has disappeared: the action is thereby thinned out and concentrated; at the same time, a colorful but crowding detail like the knife-blade pressed against the bruise in 8 is dropped. The obscene cries of the crowd in 11 have been eliminated and replaced by less explicit sounds: a story requires words while a painting needs only open mouths.

Other deletions tend to trim redundancies from the *Salon* version. In 3 *la portière s'ouvre* is unnecessary if the passengers have left the coach; in 5 the reader may assume that the dog has used his teeth, thus *des dents* falls; he may likewise assume that the contemporary reader needed no qualifier (*longue*) for the jacket of a Jesuit. And in 9 he may guess without being told that the girl is laughing because she finds the scene amusing.

Additions of details are found on two occasions. In 9 a visual element of feminine clothing heightens the erotic and the pictorial flavor. The second addition concerns locale, since in 1 a simple statement of loca-

tion has given way to a presentation of two possible situations, offered as compositional accessories. This addition has an important function: it helps establish the fact that from the outset we are witnessing a *tableau* and not a real event; we shall see that this is less clear in the *Salon* version. Whereas locale in the *Salon* seems to have been chosen merely because the event did transpire at that place, Diderot, in *Jacques*, offers alternative pictorial accessories, thus deliberately blurring the facts. Time too is more vague; the 1765 form of 1 contains information of value to Baudouin who must light his work: *entre onze heures et midi*. The statement in *Jacques* eliminates time.⁷

On occasion, details are neither deleted nor added but simply shifted, either in importance or in their sequence. In 9 for instance, though the same action appears in each passage, a subordinate element shifts to the main predicate and stresses the pictorial factor: *l'autre, [...] les mains sur les côtés, s'éclatait de rire* is transformed into: *se tient les côtés à force de rire*, with the result that the centering of action which is the verb moves from *éclatait* to *se tient les côtés*. One term, an expression of sound, of emotion at best, and certainly non-pictorial, becomes a specifically visual image of posture.⁸ In the alteration of 7, an identical action becomes pictorial by limitation and stabilization. Whereas the coachman in the early text was traced through two complete actions, the descent and the pursuit, *Jacques'* narration catches this man as he clammers down from his bench: *le cocher se hâte de descendre de son siège*.

Thus, in terms of content, Diderot in *Jacques* makes choices which, in the *Salon*, he leaves to his painter. In 1765, we have an incident, full of action and details, from which a clever painter might construct a successful canvas; in the latter passage Diderot, through *Jacques*, has performed the necessary work. Only at the beginning of this passage does the reader find room for choice as to how the scene might be handled; and even here this condescension on the part of the author is deceptive, for both alternatives are impressive stone backdrops.

Having isolated changes of content, we may proceed to formal differences. To examine Diderot's stylistic alterations, we must weigh each shift against the author's intent as revealed by changes in content or by surrounding context. Though form and content are not often so easily separable, in the case of two narrowly limited passages, a distinction is necessary: we must first abstract all elements stemming from non-stylistic

7. My own clear impression of the *tableau* in *Jacques*, before reading the *Salon* version, was that the scene took place in the late afternoon, probably because of the nature of the episode.

8. Note that in expressive range both expressions are ordinary; neither is unusual or especially effective.

sources, then isolate those aspects of form which are specified by stylistic considerations.

The ordering of elements varies significantly from one version to the other. Two component areas of the *Salon* text, (7) and (9), appear earlier in Jacques' version; (10) falls later. First, the structural change represented by the placement of (7) shows the same tendency to eliminate redundancy which we found in the choice of details: the juxtaposition of (7) and 4 allows Diderot to abridge (7), since knowledge of the monk's flight explains the coachman's pursuit and permits Diderot to shorten slightly his words on the dog in 5. Second, the new position of (9) places the comic element before the serious; that is, *before* showing the passenger who has been injured, Diderot indicates that the scene is highly amusing. In this way, the purely comic tone of the episode is securely unified. Finally, by placing (10) later in the action, Diderot reveals clearly that he has redesigned his *tableau* and provided a tri-partite structure which did not previously exist.

This movement of the text through three well-balanced sections provides evidence of Diderot's workmanship. Whereas in the *Salon* passage it would be difficult to find clear divisions, and certainly none so neatly proportioned, this delineation in *Jacques* stands out. First, the stage is set, the Master's (and reader's) participation is invited. By the time attention has been guaranteed in the Master's two obedient echoes, all stationary scenic details have been presented. The second division brings on the human figures, in two groups: first the monk, the coachman and the dog; then the two passengers. And in the third portion of the text, the spectators of this little scene are sketched in rapidly. The addition of 8a announces the content of this third division. Attention then proceeds in a widening circle: first to the *polissons* who flock about the scene, then to the more distant observers, those shopkeepers who line the streets, and finally to the most remote observers, those who lean from their windows. In the *Salon* version, the movement is random: from scene to shopkeepers, back to *polissons*, with no other spectators appearing.

Though the triple structure is often a literary convention, the three-part movement of this text roughly follows the spectator's eyes as he observes the painting.⁹ First he notes the general impression provided by background and the dominant stone monument; his eyes next fall on the central item, a wrecked coach; then two groups of central figures draw his interest; and finally his eyes move toward the periphery of the scene. Here, then, structure becomes more than a matter of balance; in this passage Diderot has made structure an expressive element in itself.

Turning from the ordering of the elements in the passage to the ele-

9. For an account of Diderot's manner of observing a painting, cf. Gita May, *Diderot et Baudelaire* (Geneva, 1957), pp. 116-18.

ments themselves, we may narrow our attention to the problem of sentence-structure. A striking contrast appears when the two texts are compared from this point of view. In the *Salon* version, sentences are constructed in a fairly complex pattern: one sentence extends over 6 and 7, and another from 8 to 11; containing the complex construction in 9. In Jacques' narration, however, he allows only one subordinate clause to appear, in 8; and only in this case and in 9, where two short disjunctions occur, is there anything to interrupt the tight union of subject and predicate. In *Jacques* the sentences are shorter: there are eleven sentences compared to six in the *Salon* version. This constant succession of short units accounts in part for its rapid pace.

Connection between these units, or its absence, augments the speed of the second text. The minimal conjunction *et*, though it appears more frequently in the *Salon* and indeed accelerates that text as well, combines in the *Jacques* version with another procedure to intensify the tempo. For it is rather the absence of circumstantial connection between sentences in the page from *Jacques* which, together with *et*-connected phrases, heightens the movement. With the exception of the final ternary cadence in 11a, Diderot in *Jacques*' narration never uses *et* to link sentences or main clauses: *et* is used in 2 to bind two modifiers, in 3 and 10 to link two subjects, and in 5 and 8 to coordinate two verbs. Thus, while in content the text in *Jacques* tends to restrict, to concentrate, and to stabilize the action for visual purposes, analysis of sentence-structure reveals on the other hand an increase in the dynamic quality of the scene.¹⁰

This dynamism, though present in both texts, is greater in the passage from *Jacques*, where the motion is necessary to counteract the stabilizing choice exercised by Diderot. Movement in the *Salon* version stems from the sheer multiplicity of detail, from the heaping of action upon action, while in *Jacques* Diderot eliminated certain details and fixed others at precise moments. The acceleration in the second text is accomplished primarily by a recasting of sentence structure; again style, and style alone carries out Diderot's intentions.

Dynamism is less an innovation than the heightening, by the elimination of static elements, of an effect already found in the *Salon*; in the same way the shifts in vocabulary tend for the most part to add stress to stress. In 4 *le moine se met à courir* merely showed the monk in flight; in *Jacques* both the verb and its modifier have been augmented: now *le moine s'enfuit à toutes jambes*. The running turns into hectic flight, and incidentally a more easily visualized detail is brought to Jacques' canvas. A similar heightening appears in the next element (7) following

10. Leo Spitzer has analyzed dynamism as one of the *etymons* of Diderot's style, in *Linguistics and Literary History*.

4 in Jacques' *tableau*; compare *le fiacre [...] descend de son siège* with *le cocher se hâte de descendre*. Sometimes changes in vocabulary can augment effects in other ways: in the last example the substitution of *cocher* for *fiacre*, a synonym with no determinable nuance, eliminates a possible redundancy and a certain repetition. Again, in 6 *se démène*, an expressive term common to Diderot, gains strength by the change to *fait tous ses efforts*. This shift in turn motivates a change in (9), which follows 6 in Jacques; here *toute débraillée* becomes simply *débraillée*, partly to avoid the repetition *tous-toute* in succeeding lines, but also because the brutal *débraillée* is in fact stronger than its modified counterpart.

In one special group of words, the verbs, examination reveals a procedure leading both to reinforced effects and to an increase in dynamic quality. Paradoxically these same verbs permit the stabilized action demanded by the *tableau*. In both texts, much of Diderot's artistry lies in his manipulation of verbs and tense; for Diderot, tense can have expressive function.

In the *Salon*, the narration divides into two sections, one dominated by the present tense, the other by the imperfect. Both tenses imply the continuity so appropriate to the narration of a study in motion; but the shift to the past has no immediately perceptible explanation for the reader until he has read further. For it is at this moment that Diderot, in proposing a suitable subject to Baudouin, turns from the suggested *tableau* to the incident itself. What had begun as an imaginary subject for a painting suddenly turns into a true adventure which befell an ecclesiastical acquaintance a week before.¹¹ By thus dividing his narrative, Diderot passes subtly from the imagined to the real. That this turn of tenses is more than an accident becomes clear in the comments appended to this passage in the *Salon de 1765*. These state the utility of turning true episodes into art, for moralizing purposes. It is vice punished, he argues, for who can tell whether that very monk might not see his own portrait at the next *Salon* and perhaps even blush. "Et n'est-ce rien que d'avoir fait rougir un moine?" he wonders. A simple shift in narrative tense has shaped the passage to Diderot's didactic purpose: to propose a subject which, while suggestive, is still "un peu moral."

In *Jacques*, however, tense has an entirely different function. Now the episode takes place in the present, that moment which Diderot knew only too well "n'est qu'un point." Here the verbs necessary to set the scene are in the present perfect: in the *Salon*, the passengers are getting

11. It is worth nothing that Hudson, to whom the episode in *Jacques* is attributed, probably had a counterpart in reality, the infamous Abbé du Moncetz. Cf. Franco Venturi, *La Jeunesse de Diderot* (Paris, 1939), p. 338, and Paul Vernière, *loc. cit.* M. Vernière finds an earlier version in a letter to Sophie, dated 7 October 1760; his evidence suggests that the initial episode happened to Diderot himself, and that even the monk was a later invention.

out, but in *Jacques* they have gotten out; where in the *Salon* version the accident in 2 is described in finite verbs, in *Jacques* participles are used, so that the carriage is already on its side, the spring already broken. Other verbs in the present allow Diderot to seize the actions he wishes at the moment he desires. The monk takes flight in 4, the coachman struggles to get down in (7), the dog clings to the monk's jacket in 5; while one girl laughs, the other holds her bruised head and the onlookers enjoy the sport.

The adroit selection and manipulation of verbs allow the author of *Jacques* to transfix action at the moment of crisis without thereby bringing it to a standstill. A compression in time results, paralleling the compression in details already noted in the elimination of redundancies. And because the present is a fleeting instant, the verbs in *Jacques'* narration step up the tempo of the passage. Finally the concentration of all these procedures into a few lines of prose can only have the intensifying effect which has already been discovered in the choice of vocabulary.

Diderot knew he had improved the passage he inserted into his novel. The earlier text was a suggestion to Baudouin, a man of dubious talent in his estimation. Thus, though the *Salon* text has considerable merit of its own, we are not surprised to see that the Master finds *Jacques'* painting worthy of an artist of obviously greater stature, Jean-Honoré Fragonard. A legitimate pride in those very details of composition we have noted may be found in the Master's remark: "Comment diable! Jacques, ta composition est bien ordonnée, riche, plaisante, variée et pleine de mouvement."

An attempt to clarify Diderot's intentions in *Jacques'* narration is authorized by his apparent satisfaction with the text. Help comes from the insights which an analysis of stylistic variation has provided. Though the *Salon* text had primarily didactic purposes, it also provided an opportunity for Diderot to insert into his *Salon* a story which would enliven the more or less constant recital of paintings. In *Jacques* too the painting tells a tale; thus, insofar as *Jacques* is only a bundle of stories,¹² the narrative is its own end. Why Diderot should have chosen this special form to recount the particular episode he had in mind is another question; perhaps he remembered with pleasure his earlier text. Certainly variety was a consideration ("ta composition est [...] variée"); stylistic diversity by means of pastiche or parody is foreign neither to Diderot nor to his novel.¹³ In this *tableau* a continuation of Hudson's adven-

12. The expression ("ein Convolut von Erzählungen"), from Rosencranz, *Diderots Leben und Werke* (Leipzig, 1886), II, 316, has been adapted by Yvon Belaval, in his edition of *Jacques* (Paris, 1953), p. 12, as best describing *Jacques*; he translates it "une liasse de contes."

13. For example, the fable of Gaine and Coutelet parodies the manner of Tabourot

tures is compressed into a short paragraph of rapid prose, possible through Diderot's borrowing of his own *salonnier* style. The *tableau* provides a fresh means of narration, presenting advantages of brevity, and fitting perfectly into the patchwork texture of *Jacques* as a never-to-be-explained vignette of human behavior.

More important, however, insofar as *Jacques* is more than a "liaisse de contes," the narrative device has meaning in itself. By using a *tableau*, Diderot has brought to the literary art the special advantages of the painter's craft, with its wordless, timeless quality and its tension between stability and motion. By the merest suggestion, a tale has been outlined, a one-paragraph story which might have been developed as fully as the long episode of Hudson and Richard which precedes. By juxtaposing two complex stories, one carefully motivated and narrated at length, the other sketched in a brief paragraph of whirlwind prose, Diderot demonstrates the omnipotence of the artist's means, and his absolute, godlike control over time and space.

To return now to our initial considerations, certain conclusions are possible. Though a great weight of parallel texts like the two we have studied would be necessary before establishing the canon of Diderot's stylistic procedures, conclusions pertaining to the two texts here presented may go some way toward corroborating suspicions that Diderot as a stylist has not yet been given his due.

In these texts, Diderot is a conscious and effective workman in matters of style. Whether or not he elaborated the second text from the first, Diderot molded action into expressive form. And since the choice of formal details corroborates in every respect the intentions revealed by the texts themselves and by the light each sheds on the other, we may conclude that in the passage from *Jacques* the shaping is a conscious process. The degree to which Diderot was aware of his procedures may be measured by his own comments on the text in *Jacques*.

As for the quality of his workmanship, criteria of stylistic excellence depend upon the extent to which style carries out the author's intentions. Here, each text shows successful effects, attained through different means; but the text in *Jacques* shows a concentration of means which marks the unusual literary craftsman. We may proceed on the assumption that Diderot's style is neither an accident nor the figment of an enthusiastic reader's imagination.

des Accords. The Master's *oraison funèbre* is pure pastiche; the hostess' parody of the magistrature is another example. In *Jacques* literary parody parallels the tendency of characters like Hudson, Mme de la Pommeraye and Saint-Ouin to disguise themselves and act out a rôle.

ROLLAND AND HAUPTMANN BEFORE THE "MELEE"

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NEITHER the self-betrayal to militarism of German intellectuals nor the tragic events of hostilities explain fully the public polemic between Romain Rolland and Gerhart Hauptmann in 1914. Like the war, their exchange of open letters, published chiefly by the *Journal de Genève*, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and *Corriere della sera*, was the outcome of a long-festerling grievance and considerable misunderstanding.¹ The trouble began, in their case, soon after Rolland's first acquaintance with the works of Hauptmann. A knowledge of this earlier relationship is as relevant in our comprehending Rolland's stand as any appreciation by us of his reaction to the burning of Louvain. Since, moreover, his choice of exile and the convictions expressed by him at the outbreak of World War I, however outstanding, marked no real departure from the main stream of his past, a study of his quarrel with Hauptmann may also throw light on his earlier writings, particularly the critical passages in *Jean-Christophe* which concern modern Germany.

After the defeat at Sedan, more than two decades of national disarray had convinced Rolland that a moral regeneration of France was imperative and that hope for a healthy European society depended on this. Responsibility for the situation and its redressal was, in his mind, as much the artist's as the politician's. With the Dreyfus crisis Rolland acquired "la virile habitude de l'action publique," ventured independently into the political arena, and frequented the Chamber of Deputies. In 1900, at the Socialist party's convention, he voted with the Jaurès group. Despite his growing faith in socialism and increased activity in public affairs, political and social reform constituted, he believed, only part of the remedy which would restore the nation's moral and spiritual vitality. Art, too, would have to join in the struggle for a new society. In this domain as well, the time had come to face the task, to call things by their names, and to act in accordance with the common purpose of moral revolution. *J'accuse*, to be sure, had been a heroic call to arms; but a constructive, literary response was yet to come. By 1900, however, Rolland could announce: "Déjà la bataille a commencé et des hommes énergiques ont donné l'exemple rafraîchissant de l'action . . . la santé

1. For a fair outline of the polemic itself see William Thomas Starr, *Romain Rolland and a World at War* (Evanston, 1956), pp. 28-30, 32, 37.

renait, le désir d'agir, la croyance en la volonté." Still, detecting in literature traces of a "poison idéaliste," he added: "Il n'est qu'un remède: la vérité. Il faut voir la vie comme elle est et le dire. Idéalistes, réalistes, tous ont le même devoir: prendre pour base l'observation réelle, les faits réels, les sentiments réels."²

Faithful to these precepts of truth and action, Rolland rejected the heritage of Renan, the scepticism and incertitude which condemned the race to apathy; the idealism of German philosophy that lost its way in sterile illusions; and that of nineteenth-century French literature which, with its haughty individualism, divorced itself from real human interests. As he attacked "le faux idéalisme" in art, he opposed "l'héroïsme impossible" which enslaved or immolated life. "La fin de l'art n'est pas le rêve, mais la vie," he insisted.³ In his belief that "l'action doit surgir du spectacle de l'action," that with a new society would be born a new art, and that this must be a popular art, Rolland had already chosen the drama as his vehicle of reform.⁴ His "popular theater" aimed to inspire, move, and guide the nation. His dramatic heroes, sons of the Revolution adept in the cult of action and exalted souls of compelling faith, engaged combat with destiny, struggled to be free, and, even when they perished in their action, triumphed in their example of moral invincibility. The *Tragédies de la foi* and *Théâtre de la Révolution* were created from 1894 to 1901. In 1900, Rolland published "Le Théâtre du peuple et le drame du peuple," the prologue to his major work on this subject.⁵ It should be noted that before 1900 *Jean-Christophe* existed as "une lente incubation, un rêve intérieur." Not until after that time did it also take living form.

While he campaigned for moral reform, Rolland's interest in the theater led him to discover first Ibsen, then Hauptmann. He later recorded this contact with Hauptmann in *Jean-Christophe*, in a chapter which all editions except the original omit:

Il [Christophe] avait vécu jusque-là tout à fait en dehors du mouvement littéraire. . . .

Aussi . . . fut-il fort surpris de voir que ses idées étaient depuis longtemps monnaie courante, et même un peu usée, dans la littérature, — particulièrement

2. Romain Rolland, "Le Poison idéaliste," *Revue d'art dramatique*, XV (July 1900), 661-65.

3. See Rolland's preface to *Le Quatorze juillet* in *Cahiers de la Quinzaine*, March 20, 1902.

4. Rolland's dramatic intentions and principles, noted in "Préface à mon Théâtre," May, 1892, were published by him in "Souvenirs de Jeunesse," *Mémoires et fragments du journal* (Paris, 1956), pp. 138-44—hereafter cited as *Mémoires*.

5. "Le Théâtre du peuple et le drame du peuple," *Revue d'art dramatique*, XV (December 1900), 1078-1114; this article and others were published in the *Cahiers de la Quinzaine* in 1903 with the title, *Le Théâtre du peuple. Essai d'esthétique d'un théâtre nouveau*.

ment au théâtre. . . . Le réalisme n'avait pas seulement été atteint, il était dépassé. — On était alors dans cette période de lassitude intellectuelle, qui suivit le bref et ardent élan de la *Freie Bühne* de Berlin. Toutes les sympathies de Christophe, aussitôt qu'il le connut, allèrent à ce mouvement, qui s'accordait avec sa foi dans la nature et sa soif de vérité, avec ses sentiments actuels de révolte contre l'idéalisme mensonger. . . . Il se jeta avidement sur les livres que lui prêta Mannheim; et il fut d'abord saisi par l'accent de vérité, si nouveau pour lui, qui retentissait dans les pièces de Halbe, de Schlaf, de Hirschfeld, surtout de Hauptmann. Certaines scènes de ce dernier, certains dialogues, certains silences, et l'atmosphère crépusculaire où baignaient les âmes et les choses, lui causaient une émotion inexprimable.⁶

The autobiographical nature of this passage is indicated by the author's preface to *La Révolte*, by passages in *Mémoires*, and by entries in the *Journal intime*.⁷ His reference to the "Freie Bühne" and the position of realism permits us to conclude that he, like Christophe, heard Hauptmann's "accent de vérité" somewhat late, between 1893 and 1896.⁸ Although it is tempting to date this meeting as early as 1891, when Rolland had just discovered Ibsen's theater and the "Freie Bühne" had already staged several plays by Hauptmann, Rolland's return to Paris in 1893 likely marked the beginning of his interest in the young German author whose *Die Weber* was Antoine's outstanding production for that year. During this period before the turn of the century, Rolland elaborated the project of national, popular, and heroic dramas outlined in "Préface à mon Théâtre." Significantly, he found in Hauptmann's plays affinities with his own thought.

Perhaps Hauptmann's brush with the iron fist of Wilhelm II, reported in French reviews of *Die Weber*, encouraged Rolland to trust that intellectual friendship was possible between France and Germany, whereas nationalism and "Faustrecht" made political relations difficult. Hauptmann's compassion for the victims of force, the weak, the oppressed, and the suffering, would have won his sympathy. Both men favored instinctively the moral ideals of the socialists, who, moreover, supported the "popular theater" movement, first acclaimed Hauptmann in France, and published an early translation of *Die Weber*.⁹ In any case, although Rol-

6. "Sables mouvants," *La Révolte*, Bk. IV of *Jean-Christophe* (Paris: Cahiers de la Quinzaine, 1906), pp. 140-48. This edition will be referred to in the text. W. T. Starr has included extracts from this chapter in *A Critical Bibliography of the Published Writings of Romain Rolland* (Evanston, 1950), pp. 119-21.

7. The *Journal intime*, in the collection of Mme Marie Romain Rolland, Paris, will hereafter be cited as the *Journal*.

8. In *Mémoires* it is not until 1895 that Rolland mentions "les nouveaux écrivains d'Allemagne" (p. 244). He revisited Germany in the summer of 1896.

9. Henri Maubel's translation, *Les Tisserands*, appeared in *Société Nouvelle* from May to August, 1892. Hauptmann had already been advertised in France as a socialist who had organized a "popular theater" in "Deux premières importantes à Berlin," *Revue bleue*, January 24, 1891, p. 127.

land apparently missed Antoine's sensational première of this play, he could not have ignored the German dramatist's reputation once he himself entered the Parisian theater world and the offices of the *Revue d'art dramatique*. Repeated performances of Hauptmann's plays in France from 1893 to 1903 helped to effect important changes in the concept of "social theater" and to prepare the critics and public for the advent of "popular theater." Rolland wrote of this transformation: "Il s'est produit un fait remarquable depuis dix ans. L'art français, le plus aristocratique de tous les arts, s'est aperçu que le Peuple existait.—Il le connaissait bien comme matière à discours, à roman, à drame ou à tableau. . . . Mais il ne comptait pas avec lui comme avec un être vivant, un public, un juge."¹⁰ It is not surprising that, during this feverish period of activity and hope which was to stimulate the rebirth of "popular" theater, Rolland was anxious to meet the "popular" dramatist who had so recently communicated to him "une émotion inexprimable."

His idea of Hauptmann's character was derived, as we shall later see, from information supplied by Richard Strauss, whose work in music had won Rolland's friendship. In April, 1899, at the peak of his dramatic activity, Rolland noted in the *Journal*: "Je lui parle de nos efforts ou dé nos désirs à Paris d'opposer à cette élite falsifiée un art et un public populaires. . . . Il semble avoir quelques relations avec la jeune littérature allemande sinon personnellement avec Hauptmann; et il porte dans ses jugements littéraires le même esprit dédaigneux et novateur [as in his judgment of music]."¹¹ In spite of Strauss' apparently deprecative remarks, there is no sign yet that Rolland's esteem for Hauptmann has diminished. In fact, another entry in the *Journal*, April, 1899, places him at Hauptmann's door in Berlin-Grunewald: "Il est en Italie. . . . Je suis triste de cette visite manquée, dont je me promettais quelque chose." But Rolland's criticism that Ibsen abandoned mankind on the ruins of the old social order, without showing "un monde plus heureux et plus vrai, de joie héroïque et d'amour fraternel," forecasts an objection to the German brand of realism.¹² A number of factors had, moreover, prepared Rolland's change of mind: his concept of "popular" theater as a

10. *Le Théâtre du Peuple* (Paris, 1903), p. II. Ten years before, Antoine had presented *Die Weber*. The first regular "popular theaters" in Paris, the "Théâtre populaire de Belleville" and the "Théâtre du Peuple" at Moncey, included *Die Weber* in the program of their initial year, in 1903–04. In *Le Théâtre du Peuple*, Rolland recognized that Hauptmann was one of the few dramatists who had tried to write for the masses; but he rejected *Die Weber* as popular fare for the same reason that he will object to Fuhrmann Henschel: "Il [le peuple] aime les spectacles violents, mais à condition que ces violences n'écrasent point . . . au théâtre comme dans la vie, les héros avec qui il s'identifie" (p. 103).

11. Fragments of the *Journal* concerning Hauptmann and Strauss have been published in *Correspondance entre Richard Strauss et Romain Rolland et fragments du journal de Romain Rolland* (Paris, 1951).

12. See *Mémoires*, pp. 143–44, 243–44.

moral force; his mounting fear that Germany, morally weak, was accepting the rule of force; his temperament, which revolted at the thought of human destiny's excluding the human will; and, especially, his extremely defensive attitude at this time, induced by the tension of conjugal discord. These were all reasons for his opposition to Hauptmann's plays. His initial disenchantment followed a critical viewing of them on the German stage. A revaluation according to his personal criteria for art, "l'énergie, la foi, l'héroïsme," inevitably led Rolland now to a condemnation of the Hauptmannian hero, of the German national character, and finally of Hauptmann himself.

After a performance of *Die versunkene Glocke* at Berlin's "Deutsches Theater," Rolland wrote in his *Journal*, April 23, 1899, of the excellent acting of the Berlin players, who were so successful in the roles of mythological monsters and in their unusual, violent interpretation of this languid play. His approval of these popular, dynamic elements gave way a few days later to a more cautious, critical opinion, implicitly unfavorable and disturbing. *Fuhrmann Henschel* at the "Residenz Theater" in Wiesbaden prompted him to comment in the *Journal*:

Un réalisme bien différent du nôtre: des êtres faibles, écrasés par la vie, terrassés par les événements, incapables de soutenir le choc même de leurs idées. . . . On me dit que trois heures avant la première représentation, H. [Hauptmann] ne savait pas encore à quel dénouement s'arrêter; il avait d'abord pensé à faire tuer la femme mais il trouvait Henschel trop distingué pour tuer. Beaucoup d'Allemands me disent que je ressemble à Hauptmann.

The resemblance was not just physical. Rolland and Hauptmann held certain ideas and interests in common. The matrimonial difficulties which Rolland now experienced had shortly before been part of Hauptmann's life. But, as we have noted, Rolland's moral development had profoundly modified his idea of art. The seemingly futile struggle, the unheroic nature of Hauptmann's simple drayman, overwhelmed by social and marital problems, contradicted the vigorous realism and inviolable "Cornelian" morality which Rolland had personally fostered.¹³ The wasteland of self-sufficient dreams and pessimistic thoughts which he had striven to reclaim within himself and the impending collapse of his own marriage which soon undermined his strength now challenged him in the person of Henschel. Hauptmann's dramatic heroes became in his mind the menacing shadows of defeatism in his own life. And as he identified his inner combat with a national struggle, his personal adversaries were those in the life of France—men of the neighboring nation, morally weak and prone to disastrous submission. This extension of Rolland's observations on the character of Henschel into a psycho-

13. Cf. Starr, *Romain Rolland and a World at War*, pp. 16-17 (Notes).

analysis of Germany appeared in his *Journal*, dated at Mayence, April, 1899:

L'Allemagne est un Hamlet, barbare et décadent. La tension guerrière de la volonté cache des âmes qui rêvent, indécises; et son intelligence, mal accoutumée à l'action, est constamment tout près de sombrer dans le vertige des hallucinations. — Le "Fuhrmann Henschel" est intéressant pour l'étude de ces volontés sans racines.¹⁴

At this point, it is impossible to disassociate Rolland's moral ideal, touching both individuals and nations, from the issue of dramatic heroism in Hauptmann's plays. The neurasthenia, "affaissement général et subit des volontés," which he combatted in his own country and censured in the Germany of Hauptmann's writings, was again his target when he identified Hauptmann personally with his characters—a step already begun in the criticism of *Fuhrmann Henschel*, in the picture of Hauptmann's mind failing to impose its will on its own creatures. Confirming the rumor that the author of Henschel was incapable of fashioning a dénouement, Rolland's informant, Strauss, described Hauptmann to him in disdainful terms, which Rolland recorded in his *Journal*, March 9, 1900:

Il [Strauss] a fait la connaissance de Gerhardt [sic] Hauptmann, il y a peu de temps. — C'est un être, dit-il, inarticulé. — Il bégaye, il ne trouve pas ses mots, il ne finit pas ses phrases, il se prend le front; on ne peut rien tirer de lui, rien savoir de ce qu'il pense. . . . Il a pu démêler toutefois que Hauptmann n'aimait pas Wagner, que la brutalité du génie était trop rude pour sa neurasthénie. . . .¹⁵

Coupling these symptoms of a chronic moral illness with his observation of Hauptmann's dramatic heroes, Rolland diagnosed:

H. [Hauptmann] est un esprit malheureux qui reste accablé sous le poids de sa pensée et de la nature, qui n'arrive pas à les maîtriser, à aller jusqu'au bout de sa volonté; il est Hermann [Heinrich] de "la Cloche engloutie," Henschel, tous ses héros impuissants et faibles qui se tourmentent.

14. For Rolland's interpretation of Hamlet see *Mémoires*, pp. 29-32 and *Compagnons de route* (Paris, 1936), p. 28. For the sense of "sans racines" see J.-B. Barrère, "Romain Rolland, les racines et le souffle, thèmes et variations," *Mercur de France*, August 1, 1954, pp. 668-69. The idea that Rolland made no distinction "zwischen den Nationen und besonders zwischen französischem und deutschem Genie" (M. Colleville, "Romain Rolland und Deutschland," *Antares*, May, 1955, p. 40) is quite misleading. His increasing awareness of the dangerous nature of Germany was directly related to his perception of the rootless, "vieux fond de la race."

15. "Neurasthénie" and "fatalisme" as opposites to "force morale" and "hérosme" appear as frequently as a leitmotif in *Jean-Christophe*. See, e.g., Christophe's speeches: "... et la première de toutes les lois morales est de ne pas être neurasthénique" and, "le grand ennemi, c'est le doute neurasthénique" (*Jean-Christophe* [Paris, 1954], pp. 933, 1048).

Moral considerations, although inseparable from the dramatic, clearly prevail.

It is unfortunate that Rolland subjected his judgment of Hauptmann and his dramas to an exclusive moral principle. His criteria were too much the product of personal trials and of a single historical situation to be just when applied so widely. And because of this, there would seem to be baffling contradictions in his criticism. He insisted, for example, that art represent "*la vie comme elle est*," but he rejected the very real, tragic dénouements of Hauptmann's plays. The explanation here is that Rolland's faith in the freedom and power of the human will simply shaped a concept of art in which reality itself could be defined only in terms of human will-power.¹⁶ Within the limits of this thought Rolland's criticism was exact: the defects of naturalism and the weakness of Germany which he stressed are generally admitted. Nevertheless, so stringent a moral concern, however sincere and admirable, sacrificed a large measure of objectivity and the many non-ethical criteria necessary for historical or literary criticism.¹⁷

As for Hauptmann, Rolland identified him too closely and completely with certain of his passive, emotional heroes. Undeniably, the tension of neurosis and a sense of futility are strong in several of the early plays. We know too that Hauptmann did study the deterministic thought of his day; that, because of his particular *Weltanschauung*, he was reluctant to confine his characters to an existence conventionally terminated by the dénouement; and that he found it difficult at times to express himself verbally. Such facts explain little about the development of his thought or talent between *Vor Sonnenaufgang* and, over ten years later, *Führmann Henschel*. Having omitted *Florian Geyer*, *Michael Kramer*, *Der Biberpelz*, and *Der rote Hahn*, Rolland could not reasonably judge Hauptmann, his work, or the society depicted in it. By the time of *Führmann Henschel*, Hauptmann certainly did not subscribe wholeheartedly to scientific determinism, nor did he contemplate suicide then because of the failure of his first marriage, nor was he neurasthenic. It would appear rather that Rolland saw himself in the place of Henschel, alone, devoured by marital anxiety, and near destruction.¹⁸ He attributed this state of mind, against which he revolted, to the author of *Führmann Henschel*.

Unlike Henschel, however, Rolland refused to be alienated from

16. See *Mémoires*, p. 144: "La nature crée le minimum du réel."

17. Ber Krakowski, *La Psychologie des peuples allemand et juif dans les romans de Romain Rolland* (Toulouse, 1931), understates the personal element in Rolland's criticism of Germany and omits the passages from the first edition of *La Révolte*.

18. See *Mémoires*, pp. 260, 303-304; p. 308: "Vers la fin de 1899, ma résistance nerveuse fut à bout . . . Je me sentais détruit, de toutes parts. J'aurais voulu être mort."

life or, as a result, condemned to abdicate ultimately before a chaos of foreign events. "Je suis séparé du monde?" he asked; and replied: "Je ne le suis pas assez . . . A mesure que les causes de tristesse sont amassées, je sens une joie sévère et muette élire son siège dans mon cœur."¹⁹ Although Rolland's "règle morale" and his faith in the freedom of the human will prevented him from measuring the increase in human stature which is the sum-total of Hauptmann's early tragedies, this same protective, inner fiber, in saving his own creative life, allowed Jean-Christophe to come safely into the world.²⁰ To his young hero, at a similar moment in his life, Rolland gave the attitude towards Hauptmann, his dramatic heroes, and the German nation which we have seen to be his own.

It has been shown that the passages in Rolland's *Journal* written during the trip to Germany in 1905-06, immediately after the crisis with Wilhelm II over Morocco, were "très souvent . . . transcrives telles quelles dans *Jean-Christophe*." This sojourn beyond the Rhine is said to have "crystallized" in *La Révolte* all the unfavorable impressions from previous encounters with Germans and Germany—impressions "qui jusqu'à présent ne s'étaient pas imposés avec la même force et la même actualité."²¹ However, the presence of Rolland's earlier opinion, based to a large extent on his study of Hauptmann's dramatic heroes, has been overlooked. In the original edition, this opinion formed the strongest unit of criticism of Germany and German literature. Explaining the relationship between *La Révolte* and the *Journal*, Rolland wrote: "Et pour contrôler et pour grossir ce dossier, j'allai passer juillet, août 1906 en Allemagne, suivant Jean-Christophe dans ses avatars et dans sa fuite. . . ."²² As Rolland indicated, this trip to Germany simply verified and augmented his previous observations. He attributed the dossier to his hero in an attempt to see his own experience with "un recul suffisant."²³ But if we compare the outstanding passages on Germany in the first edition of *La Révolte* with those in the *Journal* from 1899 to 1900, it becomes clear that Christophe's opinion is identical to that held earlier by Rolland. Christophe revolted against the new Germany "suivant à la piste" Romain Rolland.

Christophe's initial enthusiasm for Hauptmann's plays, which we have

19. *Journal*, February 27, 1900. Quoted in *Mémoires*, p. 308.

20. See *Mémoires*, p. 309.

21. M. Schierer, "Romain Rolland—Jean Christophe et l'Allemagne dans la crise de la Révolte," *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, XXII (July-September 1948), 340-62. This otherwise excellent article quotes the diary ("L'Allemagne est un Hamlet . . .") but does not mention the context (Rolland's study of *Führermann Henschei*); nor does it treat the important chapter on Hauptmann in *La Révolte*.

22. Rolland, *Péguy* (Paris, 1944), I, 120—quoted in Schierer, p. 348; see n. 22 above.

23. See André Gide, *Journal 1889-1939* (Paris, 1948), p. 544, n. 1.

reason to consider as Rolland's, turned likewise into disapproval. Guided by the criticism of *Fuhrmann Henschel* in the *Journal*, Christophe was disturbed by the spineless heroes and depressing realism of Hauptmann:

Mais à mesure qu'il avançait dans ses lectures, il sentait une gêne, une irritation croissante. . . . Une "Stimmung" écrasante enveloppait l'âme comme une chape de plomb, l'aveuglait, l'étouffait. Une hantise perpétuelle pesait sur tous ces êtres. . . . Tous succombaient sous le faix d'une hérédité de malheur ou de vices: alcoolisme, névrose, hypomanie, sadisme; tous avaient l'obsession de cette hérédité, et nul n'osait résister. (p. 142)

In this capitulation of the heroes' will before hereditary forces Christophe too saw the weakness of his compatriots: "Le manque de volonté: la maladie héréditaire en Allemagne! . . . Ce mal de volonté, que la Prusse, au cours du siècle, avait traité victorieusement par le fer, reparaissait maintenant plus aigu que jamais" (p. 143). Having linked German national character with that of Hauptmann's heroes, he proceeded to make an ethno-psychological analysis, which, although not as forceful, is a repetition of Rolland's *Journal*:

Dans cette Allemagne-Hamlet, combien de fois la tension gigantesque des énergies ne cache-t-elle pas des âmes vagues, des volontés sans racines profondes, des intelligences mal accoutumées à l'action et tout près, constamment, de sombrer dans le vertige! . . . (p. 143)

The passage in the *Journal* (March 9, 1900) which identified Hauptmann, "esprit malheureux . . . accablé sous le poids de sa pensée et de la nature," with all his heroes, "impuissants et faibles," is closely related to Christophe's most vehement censure of contemporary German letters:

C'étaient . . . des âmes émiettées, incertaines, contradictoires, amorphes et fondantes, comme des méduses. Elles ne réagissaient point. Tout au plus si elles se débattaient contre l'asphyxie, avec de petits cris, comme dans un cauchemar . . . Que de ratés, de vies perdues, de faillites, d'agonies, de suicides! . . . — Quoi! Tous, des vaincus d'avance? Pas un qui osât engager la lutte avec cette "Nature," dont ils ne parlaient qu'avec un effroi enfantin? — Comme si une puissante volonté n'était pas, elle aussi, la "Nature," et comme s'il n'était pas possible de l'entraîner, de l'armer, de la dresser à la bataille et à la victoire! . . . (p. 143)

In writing *La Révolte*, Rolland transposed the substance of his opinion of Hauptmann's plays, recorded in the *Journal* during the critical years 1899 and 1900, into the crucial period of young Christophe's life, when he first investigated contemporary German literature—in the early 1890's.²⁴ Possibly because of this prochronism, Rolland introduced an-

24. René Cheval, "Romain Rolland et Nietzsche," in *Deutschland-Frankreich: Ludwigsburger Beiträge zum Problem der Deutsch-Französischen Beziehungen* (Stuttgart, 1957), II, 303, places this chapter of *La Révolte* "approximativement vers 1880."

other of Hauptmann's plays, one of a more appropriate date for Christophe, *Vor Sonnenaufgang*. It had brought Hauptmann his first triumph at the "Freie Bühne" and his first publicity in France.²⁵ A translation of it by Jacques Bainville, in the *Revue d'art dramatique*, from February to June, 1900, made it subject to the same criticism as *Fuhrmann Henschel*. Reiterating his objection to Ibsen's dramas and the stale charges of a dependence on Ibsen and Zola, Rolland referred, obliquely at first, to Alfred Loth, the hero of *Vor Sonnenaufgang*. The "maniaques de l'hérédité" leafing through the "dictionnaire de médecine" compiled by Ibsen and Zola were obviously Hauptmann's heroes and, in particular, Loth, who had said: "Was Zola und Ibsen bieten ist Medizin."²⁶ The characters of the young generation of German authors "[qui] avaient peur de se marier, de vivre," included specifically Alfred Loth. Finally, as if he were just a passing example of such inadequate heroism, Loth was mentioned by name:

Ces lâches en arrivaient parfois, dans leur honteuse panique, à perdre tout sentiment humain: comme le triste héros de Hauptmann, Alfred Loth, quand ils voyaient souffrir les êtres qui leur étaient les plus chers, quand ils les soupçonnaient d'être atteints par l'épidémie héréditaire, ils les abandonnaient ainsi que des pestiférés. . . . (p. 144)

This part of *La Révolte* gives the distinct impression that, although it was tailored loosely to fit German literature, *Fuhrmann Henschel* provided the material and *Vor Sonnenaufgang* the model for it.

That the moral criticism made of Hauptmann's plays in the *Journal* was essentially Christophe's is evidenced by the comparison of Rolland's hero-self with the literary "gredins" such as Loth: "—Christophe . . . connaissait, lui aussi, les bêtes de proie héréditaires. . . . Et le sentiment du danger, au lieu de l'accabler, dilatait ses forces, et lui causait une exaltation héroïque" (p. 144). Rolland's personal experience in 1900 inspired this reaction. And, as Rolland identified Hauptmann fallaciously with all his heroes, Christophe attributed to German realist playwrights in general, "défenseurs débiles" of truth, the moral dilemma which was primarily his own, which he inherited from his creator. A condemnation of the realist movement in the German theater on the strength of value judgements alone would be unequivocal to say the least. Yet, Rolland concluded this part of his criticism in *La Révolte* with an unequivocal declaration of its failure: "—*'Avant le lever du soleil,' s'intitulait la pre-*

The date of publication of *Vor Sonnenaufgang* (1889), Christophe's reference to the "Freie Bühne," and Rolland's observations in *Mémoires* would suggest that this is at least ten years too early.

25. See J. de St.-Mesmin, "Chronique berlinoise," *Le Figaro*, November 20, 1889; and "Lettres d'Allemagne," *Le Temps*, November 21, 1889 (anon.).

26. *Vor Sonnenaufgang*, in *Das gesammelte Werk* (Berlin, 1942), I, 305.

mière œuvre du réalisme allemand. Le soleil ne s'était jamais levé" (p. 145).

A Franco-German crisis, occurring as Rolland prepared the moral revolt of Jean-Christophe, confirmed his earlier judgment of Germany, renewed his objection to the leadership of "ces champions de la vérité" and to the "quiétude parfaite" of the German public, and, in so doing, stirred up again the old aversion to Hauptmann's plays.²⁷ But the first edition of *La Révolte*, published in 1906 as a provisional version, allowed for a change of mind and heart, as the moral intransigence of youth yielded, in the case of both Rolland and Christophe, to a broader, more spiritual idealism. In the preface to *La Révolte*, Rolland had recognized "le caractère de critique un peu vive" and advised his reader: "...de ne jamais prendre nos jugements comme définitifs. Chacune de nos pensées n'est qu'un moment de notre vie. A quoi nous servirait de vivre, si ce n'était pour corriger nos erreurs, vaincre nos préjugés, et d'élargir de jour en jour notre pensée et notre cœur?" (p. 15). The "moment" of his life when he recorded in the *Journal* his thoughts on Hauptmann was altogether too extreme to serve as the basis for future judgment. On May 9, 1907, he wrote to Elsa Wolff, who had asked to translate *Jean-Christophe*: "...j'ai été jadis au Deutsches Theater, où j'ai vu une charmante représentation de Hauptmann [*Die versunkene Glocke*], que je n'oublierai jamais." To the same correspondent he replied, March 4, 1909: "...[Sudermann] est un habile manœuvreur du théâtre. Mais nous réservons notre estime à des artistes comme Hauptmann."

The war and a new moral crisis revived Rolland's unfavorable opinion of Hauptmann and Germany, "trahie par ses maîtres de la pensée." Forced to break silence by the destruction of Louvain, he wrote to Hauptmann and made public this letter. In the ensuing polemic, where censorship and communications bred further misunderstanding, Hauptmann's "neurasthénie" again became a bone of contention (*Journal de Genève*, September 2, 1914). Just as his comments on German literature in *La Révolte* involved primarily his notes on Hauptmann from the *Journal*, their quarrel in 1914 had its roots in this early criticism. Rolland defined their basic disagreement in a letter to Hauptmann (*Journal de Genève*, October 3, 1914): "Ce n'est pas que je regarde, ainsi que vous, la guerre comme une fatalité. Un Français ne croit pas à la fatalité. La fatalité, c'est l'excuse des âmes sans volonté..." Although the original miscomprehension and objection to "un réalisme bien différent du nôtre" (*Journal*, 1899) reappeared now, a spirit of understanding existed, transcending the personal and the national, resolving inner

27. Performances of *Rose Bernd* in Paris in 1905 were a failure, partly because of the nationalism aroused by the Tangiers crisis; for more than thirty-five years after that date Hauptmann's plays were not performed.

conflicts, and embracing opposition from without. In this spirit, Rolland wrote of Hauptmann and the German intellectuals after Péguy's death on the battlefield: "Je suis sûr qu'ils ne mentent pas tous, mais la Prusse leur a enfoncé sur les yeux son casque à pointe" (Letter to Alphonse Séché, October 6, 1914).

We have not examined the possibility that traits of Hauptmann and his dramatic heroes contributed, elsewhere than in *La Révolte*, to the composite picture of Germany or, in a negative fashion, to the ideal of heroism contained in *Jean-Christophe*. Nor have we touched, in particular, the influence of Rolland's study of Hauptmann upon his ideas of fate, defeatism, and suicide, or upon episodes and characterizations in *Jean-Christophe*.²⁸ An investigation of these points might well reveal a more extensive relationship between Rolland and the author of the uncompleted *Der Neue Christophorus* than that which we have traced.²⁹

28. E.g., the many characters who, like Hauptmann's dramatic heroes, are oppressed by their nature, resigned to their fate, defeated, and who either commit suicide or think of doing so.

29. I am indebted to Mme Marie Romain-Rolland for her assistance in gathering much of the information contained in this article.

REVIEW ARTICLES

POETIQUES ET POÉSIE DE DIDEROT A BAUDELAIRE

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DANS la période qui sépare la Régence du Second Empire, la poésie française change complètement de nature. De prose versifiée et d'élégante abstraction qu'elle était, elle devient "sorcellerie évocatoire." Révolution tardive, comparée aux mouvements poétiques d'Allemagne et d'Angleterre, d'où, chez l'historien, tendance à traduire ce retard en filiation et à chercher surtout à l'étranger les sources du renouveau littéraire. Il est probable qu'on s'est exagéré l'importance des influences extérieures, et qu'on a ainsi relativement négligé un facteur proprement français: les innombrables écrits théoriques sur la poésie. Même à l'époque du formalisme le plus desséché, il est des théoriciens qui ont la prescience de la poésie de l'avenir: à partir de ces premiers témoignages, il est possible de suivre la transformation graduelle du concept de poésie et d'examiner s'il y a concomitance entre cette transformation et celle de la poésie elle-même ou un rapport de cause à effet. Jusqu'ici on avait surtout cherché dans la théorie l'élément traditionnel, la résistance aux innovations. Dans un livre d'une étonnante richesse, *The Idea of Poetry in France*,¹ Margaret Gilman a au contraire, cherché les causes de la révolution poétique et en a retracé les étapes. Elle ne refait pas l'histoire de la poésie même, ni ne compose une somme doctrinale des diverses critiques qui ferait double emploi avec le grand œuvre de René Wellek. Ce qu'elle décrit, c'est la lente prise de conscience des conditions du phénomène poétique, mettant très bien en relief les deux problèmes fondamentaux qu'il fallut résoudre pour que la poésie cesse d'être ornement stylistique et devienne essentiellement suggestion: celui des rapports entre l'art et la réalité, celui de la fusion de la forme et du fond. C'est à la faveur dont jouissait la doctrine de l'imitation, et

1. *The Idea of Poetry in France From Houdar de la Motte to Baudelaire*. By Margaret Gilman. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. Pp. xi + 324. La mort a frappé l'auteur avant qu'elle ait pu voir son œuvre imprimée; les soins pieux de Norman L. Torrey et de W. M. Frohock en ont permis la publication. La présentation matérielle est parfaite, et les coquilles presque totalement absentes (lire pp. 160 et 318, Guiraud; p. 306 *somnii*; p. 318, Constantin Guys). Cf. comptes-rendus dans *Times Literary Suppl.*, June 26, 1959; *FS* 13 (1959), 353-55 (J. Seznec).

au divorce de la forme et du fond que Miss Gilman a recours pour expliquer la décadence de la poésie, puis la lenteur de son progrès. Décadence et progrès bien connus, mais au dossier desquels l'auteur verse une énorme documentation de première main, chaque texte étant commenté de manière personnelle toujours, presque toujours de manière convaincante. Toutefois, le premier mérite de l'ouvrage n'est pas qu'il soit si riche, mais que les grands problèmes y soient mis en lumière, que les théoriciens avaient cherché à résoudre. L'exposé étant centré sur ces questions, il est possible désormais de garder à l'explication des faits son caractère essentiellement littéraire et formel sans plus donner la prééminence à l'histoire des idées. Ainsi le développement du romantisme est-il étroitement rattaché au triomphe d'un concept d'imagination sur la doctrine de l'imitation; de même, l'influence de l'illuminisme poussant le romantisme vers le symbolisme peut se décrire en termes de fond et de forme: séparés rationnellement dans l'image classique, ils s'unissent en symbole indissoluble, si le monde sensible n'est que le signe extérieur de la réalité profonde. C'est encore parce que Diderot est le premier à trouver la solution des problèmes fondamentaux que Miss Gilman le place aux sources de la poétique moderne, et c'est parce que Baudelaire lui semble avoir le plus parfaitement réalisé la fusion de la forme et du fond qu'elle voit dans son œuvre non pas une révolte contre les poétiques prédominantes, mais l'aboutissement d'une longue évolution. De Diderot à Baudelaire, les vicissitudes des deux thèmes critiques sont retracées d'un théoricien à l'autre, et ainsi se dessine le profil du romantisme et de l'école de l'Art pour l'art.

Telle est l'orientation générale d'un livre dont chaque page provoque le lecteur à la réflexion—et lui fait regretter plus amèrement la disparition de l'auteur.

Une enquête de ce genre posait la question préjudiciale de la validité du témoignage des poétiques quand il s'agit d'étudier l'idée de poésie et la poésie. Miss Gilman y répond en se fiant surtout aux théories des poètes eux-mêmes (p. vii); ce n'est qu'ensuite qu'elle dépouille critiques et auteurs de rhétoriques, en s'entourant de précautions.²

Encore faut-il les comprendre. Méthodiquement, l'auteur redéfinit les mots-clés comme *image*, *imagination*, etc., chaque fois que leur acceptation change, ou est différente du sens moderne.³ Effort indispensable (s'y

2. L'auteur ne pouvait retenir que les exemples les plus significatifs, mais on s'étonne de voir La Harpe à peine mentionné, le *Cours familier de littérature* de Lamartine laissé de côté, ainsi que les multiples éditions du *Pan-Lexique de Boiste* (et Nodier) qui maintinrent longtemps la hiérarchie des vocabulaires poétiques. Notons que l'auteur a bien vu qu'une théorie isolée, le trait de lumière d'un précurseur ne suffisait pas à prouver qu'une idée est "dans l'air"; aussi les influences sont-elles précisées chaque fois que possible (voir la véritable monographie consacrée à Rémond de Saint-Mard, p. 275, n. 26).

3. Voir à l'index *allégorie*, *analogie*, *enthousiasme*, *image*, *imagination*, *imitation*,

ajoutent d'excellentes traductions) si l'on veut aborder objectivement un goût, une sensibilité différents des nôtres, mais qui aurait pu être poussé plus loin.

Beaucoup de termes, surtout de prosodie et de rhétorique, restent sans définition, ou même sont passés sous silence. La première raison donnée est que ces technicismes sont à côté du sujet. C'est douteux: les théoriciens emploient cette terminologie dans des manuels pour le grand public, qui les comprend; auteurs et lecteurs font leurs classes sous des maîtres de rhétorique, et les poètes latins et les exercices de thème qui forment le goût et sont l'apprentissage du style sont commentés en termes de rhétorique; c'est à travers la catachrèse et le zeugme et leurs pareils qu'on développe sa sensibilité à l'œuvre d'art, qu'on goûte le plaisir poétique. On rit de ces noms barbares—ils s'y prêtent, et il y a une tradition satirique contre les pédants de collège (voyez les effets qu'en tire la *Réponse à un acte d'accusation*)—mais ces noms, pour ineffables qu'ils soient, organisent, orientent la perception du poème, et la prise de conscience de la création poétique, et la création poétique.⁴

La deuxième raison invoquée est que la rhétorique est fondée sur la différenciation des genres: or une des caractéristiques de l'époque étudiée est précisément la tendance à rejeter ces distinctions et à définir la poésie "almost exclusively in terms of the lyric genre" (p. viii). Mais, loin de nous faire négliger la question, ce phénomène demande toute notre attention: la résolution des genres en un seul a dû avoir des conséquences stylistiques, parce que les genres se différenciaient par leur vocabulaire, et je crois qu'on peut distinguer deux ordres de faits où le processus de fusion a été créateur de poésie (considérée ici plus particulièrement comme "architecture de mots," structure linguistique visant à tout autre chose que la communication simple—conception "very close to the modern doctrine of pure poetry," p. 132).

Premièrement, tant que le souvenir de la séparation des genres dure, les mots et les figures propres à un genre donné créent dans leurs nouveaux contextes des effets de contraste qui dotent certains d'entre eux d'un potentiel affectif, poétique, permanent. Le "style marotique," par exemple, fourre-tout des licences dans les traités de poétique, devient

sublime, symbole, ut pictura poesis; ajouter *contempler* 251, *créer* 29, 72, *fantaisie* 277, n. 55, *sensibilité* 282, n. 16, *vérité* 160-61; sur le vocabulaire de Baudelaire, 240, 258, etc. La prudence s'imposait dans l'interprétation des dictionnaires: vu l'esprit conservateur des lexicographes, il faut antédater les changements de sens dont ils ne témoignent qu'à retardement: (ex: le Trévoux, 1771, cité p. 110, ne fait que copier Acad. 1718, cité p. 43).

4. Voir, pour ne prendre qu'un exemple, combien l'art poétique des *Pensées de Joseph Delorme* (que Miss Gilman néglige un peu, ce qui surprend: Baudelaire n'a-t-il pas appelé Joseph Delorme "les Fleurs du Mal de la veille"?) insiste sur des questions de métrique, et au point d'inquiéter la critique moderne (éd. G. Antoine, pp. LXXXI ss, cf. p. 246, n. 643).

ainsi, dans la poésie nouvelle, une des sources des formes stylistiques de l'humour, mais aussi, en partie grâce à ses réserves d'archaïsmes, une des sources d'expression de la poésie intimiste.

Deuxièmement, parmi les mots qui étaient exclusivement "poétiques" (sans être limités à un genre donné), certains disparaissent de la poésie moderne (en faire le relevé nous renseignerait sur les réactions du public, dont l'écrivain tenait compte⁵), mais d'autres se maintiennent quelque temps. Miss Gilman, interprétant ceci de la manière traditionnelle, y voit une preuve que la révolution romantique est restée en-deçà de ses buts, prisonnière de clichés (pp. 144-45, 156, 163, etc.). L'analyse stylistique suggère une interprétation contraire: le mot marqué par une convention périmée jure maintenant partout où il apparaît, se trouve automatiquement en relief, se charge donc plus facilement d'affectivité, se trouve ainsi devenir un véhicule de tension poétique réelle (et non plus conventionnelle). *Urne*, par exemple, est le cache-misère classique de *seau*, *pot* ou *cruche*; arraché à ces habituelles substitutions, il en garde un stigmate qui l'impose à l'attention, et de descriptif devenu suggestif, le voici chez Hugo un cas particulier du motif de l'orifice du mystère (antre, bouche d'ombre, etc.), et qu'en ruissent les fleuves de l'ombre et de l'infini:

L'urne du gouffre alors se pencha. Le jour fuit
Et tout ce qui vivait et marchait devint nuit.⁶

On hésitera donc à rendre la rhétorique responsable des côtés faibles des romantiques, ou à faire avec Miss Gilman un choix subjectif entre la "bonne" et la "mauvaise" éloquence en poésie; c'est à la stylistique de choisir. Commentant *Le Lac*, l'auteur trouve la première image grandiloquente, lui oppose la note poignante, personnelle, des paroles d'Elvire ("the lines speak with the sound of the human voice") et regrette de voir le poème revenir à une rhétorique plus pesante encore qu'au début.⁷ Le conventionnel *d'océan des âges* ne fait pas de doute: Léonard avait employé l'image et le *Gradus de Carpentier* l'enregistre comme

5. Par ex. *mollement*, "avec douceur," disparaît rapidement après Lamartine et Vigny; est-ce simplement dû à la concurrence de la fâcheuse acceptation du mot en français non littéraire, ou est-ce que le concept d'harmonie, comme condition de la poésie, change de nature?

6. *Fin de Satan*, éd. Pléiade, p. 775. L'effet de suggestion est d'autant plus fort qu'il y a souvent réaction contre un emploi ironique des anciens "mots poétiques" dans la langue ordinaire (cf. *urne* dans Mallarmé, *Le guignon*, 8, 37). Ce renouvellement s'étend aux tropes (voir Journet-Robert, *Notes sur les Contemplations*, Table stylist., III, V, IX, X) et aux images traditionnelles (le Pégase des *Chansons des rues et des bois* a-t-il gardé quoi que ce soit du coursier classique, ou même de l'étonnant de *Mazepa*?)

7. Pp. 164-170; cf. 131, 152. A propos des mêmes passages, H. Peyre avait défendu l'éloquence en poésie (*YFS*, 13 [1954] 30-41; cf. *Connaissance de Baudelaire*, pp. 119-20, mais 89-90). Il est d'ailleurs fréquent que le lecteur français, encore proche d'une tradition oratoire issue de Lucain et de Sénèque le Tragique, accepte l'éloquence plus facilement que le lecteur anglo-saxon.

substitut de 'révolutions des temps.' Mais l'image construite autour de cette donnée n'a-t-elle pas, dans sa cohésion, dans la correspondance exacte entre chaque détail concret et le sentiment exprimé, une efficace unité qui en fait presque un symbole? rien n'y est ornemental. Ceci pour 1820. Je doute que cette sorte d'éloquence ait vieilli: la valeur affective d'alliances de mots comme *nuit éternelle* et *sans retour* n'a-t-elle pas ses racines dans notre condition mortelle? *océan des âges* n'est-il pas lié à la pensée de la mort, non seulement par le sens immédiat, mais par le symbolisme subconscient qu'il recèle?⁸

Gardons-nous de croire que les jugements de l'auteur soient uniquement impressionnistes et subjectifs. Leurs constantes imposent une autre explication: si Miss Gilman tend à être trop sévère à l'égard des romantiques,⁹ c'est parce qu'elle a choisi une certaine perspective, c'est parce qu'il s'est produit dans son exposé comme une polarisation autour de Diderot et de Baudelaire (pp. vii, 25).

Il n'est pas question de nier leur importance respective, ni l'influence de Diderot sur l'esthétique baudelairienne, ni l'intérêt d'un parallèle entre le philosophe et le poète. Le rapprochement avait été fait: Margaret Gilman a l'originalité d'en faire la base de son exposé, de s'en servir comme d'un fil d'Ariane à travers le labyrinthe dogmatique. Simplification peut-être, mais d'autant plus justifiée que les deux écrivains encadrent naturellement l'époque étudiée. La stature de Diderot parmi les théoriciens ses contemporains fait de lui un point de départ naturel; Houdar de la Motte, esprit borné s'il en fut, lui sert de repoussoir: ses pareils font la nuit sur la poésie française, et Diderot en est l'aurore prochaine. A l'autre bout, Baudelaire est un terme naturel à l'enquête puisqu'il commence la poésie moderne et que ce commencement peut aussi bien être pris comme la fin de ce qui précède; or l'esthétique de Diderot préfigure la sienne: voici donc que son œuvre est véritablement l'accomplissement d'une prophétie (le mot est de J. Seznec).

La symétrie a sa rançon et l'on pouvait craindre que les hommes et les idées qui s'alignent sur l'axe Diderot-Baudelaire, ou en matérialisent la continuité, soient mis en relief au détriment des autres. C'est justement sur ces points délicats que Miss Gilman démontre l'excellence et la rigueur de son esprit critique. Nulle part peut-être de manière plus frappante que dans le cas de Joubert, pour qui elle a pourtant un faible. Joubert, en effet, inspiré par Diderot, admiré de Baudelaire, survient au moment où il est le plus difficile de retrouver le fil conducteur (pp.

8. *O mort, vieux capitaine, il est temps! levons l'ancre!* Sur l'océan et la mort, voir G. Bachelard, *L'eau et les rêves*, pp. 97-109.

9. Par ex. pp. 120, 142 (sur Hugo), 167-170, 208, etc.; Miss Gilman reconnaît p. 167 que le choix des ex. est parfois tendancieux. Mais ajoutons que l'auteur s'efforce toujours d'explorer le pour et le contre. Quant à ses jugements sur le XVIII^e siècle, cf. par ex. J. Roudaut, "Les logiques poétiques au XVIII^e siècle," *Cahiers du Sud*, 350 (1959), 10-32.

86, 92, 94, 104 etc.); on sent combien l'occasion est tentante: l'auteur se contente d'indiquer l'influence de Diderot, de montrer combien l'idée de poésie chez Joubert est moderne (pp. 120, 131-32, 140: à ses yeux la poésie est une architecture de mots et un art de concision), mais elle se garde de voir en lui, comme Monglond le faisait, un prophète, et de lui attribuer une théorie baudelairelle de l'imagination.¹⁰

Le danger véritable de la polarisation autour de la poétique de Diderot et de Baudelaire était de s'en servir comme d'un étalon esthétique. Miss Gilman n'y a pas échappé. Baudelaire est le premier modèle de notre conception moderne de la poésie: de là à considérer son œuvre comme l'exemple "of what poetry should be" (p. vii), il n'y avait qu'un pas, qui a été franchi. Dès lors, qui précède Baudelaire est aussi inférieur à celui-ci; dangereuse équation d'*antérieur* et d'*inachevé*, argument de Perrault contre les Anciens; par une sorte de raisonnement télologique, une évolution, qui se définit en termes de cause et d'effet, d'influences, est transformée en un progrès, défini en termes de jugements de valeur; et les critères sur lesquels ces jugements sont fondés sont inséparables d'*une* poétique. D'où le préjugé à l'encontre des poésies romantiques étrangères à cette poétique: la poésie sociale sera inférieure à la poésie "pure" (l'ambiguïté de l'adjectif n'implique-t-elle pas une supériorité intrinsèque?); la poésie oratoire, inférieure à la poésie concise (voir supra; cf. p. 149 sur Vigny), etc.

Un exemple. Pour l'auteur, la fusion parfaite de la forme et du fond se réalise dans le symbole. Cette conviction l'empêche d'apprécier suffisamment des modes différents de fusion qui pourtant ne sont invalides que du point de vue symboliste (mais—lecteurs post-symbolistes—n'en sommes-nous pas tous là?): le type d'image romantique dont l'*Hippopotame* de Gautier, la *Vache* et le pélican sont les plus fameux exemples ("all too famous") est condamné parce qu'au lieu d'une fusion de l'image et du sens, qui ferait le symbole, on a une foule de détails sans rapport avec le sens profond: la signification de l'image "is rarely borne upon [the reader] until the poet makes it explicit . . . [The reader] may have the details about the pelican, the cow or the hippopotamus which the poet has so generously supplied so present to his mind that the appli-

10. P. 125. N'était la ressemblance avec Diderot, on se demande pourtant quelle serait la valeur de Joubert et si son esthétique est plus claire que celle des romantiques! Sans être aussi dur que Vigny (*Journal d'un Poète*, Pléiade, p. 1376), on ne peut se dissimuler que la poétique de Joubert n'est claire que dans l'article où Miss Gilman l'avait désembrouillée à grand peine (*RR* 40 [1949], 250-60). Ses idées sur la concision (*Carnets* 2, 132) semblent annulées ailleurs (II, 484) (et à ce propos il n'est pas vrai que la concision soit étrangère aux romantiques, cf. pp. 132 et 236, aussi Hugo, *Litt. et philos. mêlées*, p. 273 sur le style de La Fontaine; Vigny, *loc. l.*, p. 1329); il n'est pas le seul de son temps à prôner le contrôle de l'imagination: cf. Chénedollé, cité p. 126; on ne peut tabler sur son goût, car s'il admire la "plénitude de poésie" de La Fontaine, il la retrouve chez Fontanes (*Carnets*, II 804).

cation seems incongruous, even comic" (p. 229). Voilà qui est méconnaître l'existence d'une esthétique du choc: c'est précisément l'incongruité qui secoue le lecteur et provoque la soudaine fusion des deux réalités; ce qui vient d'être lu, brusquement s'éclaire, se charge de sens, comme ces énigmes qui, expliquées, ont l'aveuglante lumière de l'évidence. Perception par retour en arrière, différente de ce qu'est, dans le symbole, l'appréhension simultanée de la superposition des sens; mais cette différence n'atténue pas la force suggestive du procédé.¹¹

Ces possibilités de désaccord, que le lecteur aperçoit ici et là, sont bien peu au regard du tableau d'ensemble; et quelle réussite que les deux chapitres magistraux sur Diderot et Baudelaire! Toutefois, s'agissant d'écrivains auxquels l'auteur avait consacré sa vie, ces réussites sont attendues, et peut-être moins remarquables que le portrait qui nous est fait de Hugo. En dépit des sévérités auxquelles Hugo est exposé par son immensité même (Baudelaire ne court pas ce risque!), en dépit de quelques préventions que Margaret Gilman entretient, surtout à l'égard des œuvres d'avant l'exil, loin de se dérober à la grandeur du poème-mage, elle nous le peint au contraire progressant, s'élevant vers la poésie pure, à mesure que son inspiration s'approfondit. Mais ce serait une question à résoudre, si la continuité chez Hugo n'est pas plus marquée que l'évolution, si le pouvoir de suggestion, la magie verbale, qui lui sont reconnus sur le tard, n'ont pas toujours été présents, voilés au début parce qu'il se sert encore (mais en le renouvelant) de l'arsenal poétique conventionnel; ses thèmes, ses motifs changent peu dans la forme, mais peu à peu l'infini s'y glisse. La réponse eût été plus facile si Hugo avait eu son chapitre à lui, mais Miss Gilman avait le choix entre diviser le romantisme, pour la commodité de l'exposé, en trois courants (pp. 141-42), ce qui dépeçait Olympio en trois quartiers, et consacrer un chapitre à Hugo: peut-être eût-il rempli l'horizon-métamorphose du *Satyre*. Je me demande si l'évolution de l'idée de poésie, au lieu d'être liée au seul axe Diderot-Baudelaire—qu'il n'est pas toujours facile de jalonna—n'aurait pas pu être dessinée en suivant cette ligne nette, sans défaillances prolongées de la pensée critique, qu'est la carrière poétique de Hugo. Une étude plus complète des essais critiques de Hugo

11. Ces retours en arrière sont une nécessité dans la lecture de la poésie hermétique (voir une analyse du *Windhover*, A. A. Hill, *PMLA*, LXX [1955], 968 ss, surtout 975-76) et une des formes littistiques, peut-être, de la coexistence de l'être et du mouvement dans l'œuvre d'art (cf. G. Cattau, "Esthétiques et poétiques contemporaines," *Critique* 141 [1959], 141-59). Quant au "comique," il faut y voir un cas particulier de la surprise stylistique. Combien de poèmes sont-ils à l'abri du ridicule si on les lit à froid? et pour les trois exemples cités, ne sommes-nous pas victimes de plusieurs générations de parodies étudiantines? et celles-ci ne seraient-elles pas l'écho du premier outrage des lecteurs "au menton rasé"?

révélerait une poétique aussi profonde, au moins, que celle de Diderot.¹² Dans la perspective même du livre, avec son parti-pris même, si l'on veut, il était possible de montrer, chez Hugo, un symbolisme plus pur (en revanche, son rôle d'initiateur du symbole en France est très bien vu); c'est lui après tout, qui, le premier, s'est livré à une exploration systématique des ténèbres intérieures de l'homme, aussi bien que de la nuit cosmique; c'est lui qui, par une aventure de l'esprit comparable à celle de Rimbaud, a "plongé dans l'Inconnu pour trouver du nouveau."¹³

Point n'est besoin, je crois d'insister plus sur l'ampleur d'un tableau de la poésie et des poétiques au XIX^e siècle dont ce n'est pas le moindre mérite que d'être une histoire du pré-symbolisme.

12. Esquissée très tôt (il y en a des traces dans la préface des *Odes* de 1822). Quelques notes: le passage cité, p. 234, pour montrer que Hugo finit par unir la forme et le fond, précède le passage cité, p. 188, pour prouver qu'il les séparait auparavant (*Litt. et phil. mêlées*, pp. 9 et 12), ce qui annule la thèse de la p. 188. P. 148, n. 21: la citation complète montrerait que, loin de s'exprimer en termes du XVIII^e siècle, Hugo parle d'une contemplation, presque d'une ascèse, à rapprocher de Baudelaire, *PA*, p. 161. P. 203: à la même époque pourtant Hugo associe mémoire et imagination (*loc. l.*, p. 232) comme le fera Baudelaire, cité pp. 252-53; la préface des *Rayons et les ombres* ne fait pas de l'imagination "a reflection of the tangible world," mais la "rêverie" qu'il suscite. Un trait de la poétique hugolienne méritait l'attention, l'idée de "réflexion double," caractéristique du poète de génie, c'est-à-dire la faculté de refléter la dualité fondamentale du réel (*William Shakespeare*, pp. 111-13, cf. p. 85, et *Post-Scriptum*, pp. 510-11, 612); l'antithèse, loin d'être un procédé, n'en est que l'étiquette dans la terminologie rhétorique, parfait exemple de l'indissolubilité de la forme et du fond (cf. *W.S., Rel.*, pp. 339, 349; *Post-Scriptum*, pp. 484, 512; et les cit. de Ch.-A. Rossé, *Théories litt. de V. Hugo*, pp. 46-47). Et il y aurait beaucoup à dire sur le concept des archétypes littéraires (dans *W.S.*; R. Wellemek, *A History of Modern Criticism*, II, 257, y voit une préfiguration des idées de C. Jung).

13. L'imagination est "la plus grande plongeuse" (*William Shakespeare*, p. 110). Voir Peyre, *Conn. de Baudelaire*, pp. 86-87. Et quelle prescience des pouvoirs subconscients de l'œuvre d'art littéraire dans cette phrase: "un livre où il y a du fantôme est irrésistible" (*ibid.*, p. 193). Sur la création poétique, comparer la *Suite* citée p. 233 et le superficiel *Soleil*, p. 262; cf. encore Baudelaire, *PA*, p. 52 et Hugo, *WS*, pp. 339-40; *Post-scriptum*, p. 484). Pour un panorama international de l'évolution poétique, voir la petite *Struktur der modernen Lyrik* (Hamburg, 1957), de Hugo Friedrich.

TWO MALLARME STUDIES

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Dr. Gardner Davies is well known to students of Mallarmé for his exegeses of the commemorative poems and of the *Coup de dés*. His present volume¹ forms a pendant to *Les "Tombeaux" de Mallarmé*: in it, he closely scrutinizes eight sonnets involving directly or indirectly the theme of the setting sun. He believes that this theme leads deeper than that of the commemorative poems into the poet's personal convictions, and that it sheds light on his fundamental preoccupations.

The Introduction (pp. 7-39) first reviews Mallarmé's solar imagery in general and finds in it, somewhat paradoxically, a deliberate banality (p. 17). But the little poem *Soleil d'hiver* is described as prophetic of the analogical syntheses characteristic of the poet's maturity. Mallarmé's mature attitude is shown to result from the crisis of 1866-69, and from his study of George Cox's *Mythology* soon after. The crisis led to the conception of the mysterious 'Great Work,' which was to have been a poetic explanation of the Universe, and of a new esthetic appropriate to its realization, involving the impersonality of the author, the Transposition of Nature into its ideal essence, and reliance on the dialectic of verse. For Cox, all myths are solar myths; and Dr. Davies suggests that for Mallarmé the solar myth was identical with the 'Orphic explanation of the Earth,' and that the sonnets on the sunset are preliminary sketches for the Great Work which was never written.

The main body of the book (pp. 41-249) is devoted to the detailed analysis of the 112 lines contained in the sonnets. In most of the poems a common pattern is discerned. The sun goes down in a glory of crimson fire. Darkness comes and obliterates this splendor. It now only remains as a pure memory, called by Mallarmé *Rêve* or *Angoisse*, which haunts the poet until he can intellectually recreate it. Sometimes (as in *Quand l'ombre...*, *Victorieusement fui...* and *Ses purs ongles...*), analogy suggests a symbol which can perpetuate this vanished splendor of the sky until the new day dawns. Sometimes (as in the Trilogy of *Tout Orgueil...*, *Surgi de la croupe...* and *Une dentelle s'abolit...*), this unrealized inspiration simply remains to haunt the poet like a sylph seeking to be born. Sometimes again (as in *M'introduire dans ton his-*

1. *Mallarmé et le drame solaire: Essai d'exégèse raisonnée*. By Gardner Davies. Paris: José Corti, 1959. Pp. 295.

toire . . . and La chevelure vol d'une flamme . . .) the solar images, though described as important, are admitted to be incidental.

The Conclusion (pp. 251-95) is a long essay, illustrated by a wealth of examples, on Mallarmé's use of analogy as a source of imagery. It deals with the various types of relationships involved and their different modes of expression. The comparison may bring together two material objects, an abstract idea and a material object, two complex situations, or two different sensorial domains. Preciosity, sadistic perversity, or wit and humor may determine certain analogies. Mallarmé's originality is shown to lie, not in the choice of either of the terms, but in their relationship. Such relationships may be explicit or implicit, simple or developed. They are expressed by various means: words indicating comparison (*comme, pareil à, ainsi que*, etc.); the verb *être*, in hyperbolical identification; *pour, ou* or *ni*, in implicit identification; apposition; expletive *de*; demonstrative adjectives, in association by allusion; various verbs. (This section constitutes an outline *Grammar of Metaphor* such as Miss Christine Brooke-Rose published in 1958: but it is less thorough and methodical.) Most of Mallarmé's analogies are, however, implicit, only the second term being given: this is one of the most frequent sources of obscurity. It is to these simple elliptical analogies that Dr. Davies applies the term "symbol," quoting as examples *azur, diamant, pur, rêve, rose*, etc. Whether explicit or implicit, all these analogies (except the 'symbols') can be developed. A comparison may become implicit by the omission of one or other of its terms. Sometimes the development may introduce another analogy. In double developed analogies inversion can play a striking role: here Mallarmé makes skilful use of chiasmus. But analogy does not merely serve as a stylistic device: it has its own dynamic force influencing the development of thought. It is particularly active in the creation of concrete symbols of any given idea: these constitute as it were the "proof" of the idea. The solar sonnets are shown to illustrate various aspects of these methods, and analogy is extolled as the chief instrument of poetic Transposition.

Like Dr. Davies's previous volumes, this is a brilliant study, revealing an unrivalled knowledge of the text of Mallarmé's work, as well as remarkable powers of analysis and synthesis. It will be read with interest and profit by all students of Mallarmé. Whether its main thesis and the detailed exegeses will or should command general acceptance is, however, another matter. The method adopted and the conclusions reached are open to serious objections. Indeed, the merits of Dr. Davies's interpretations are due, not so much to his method, as to his own flair and intellectual acumen. If anything, his method tends to lead his native judgment astray. In its essence, the method of Dr. Davies consists of

systematic and exclusive reference to parallel passages in Mallarmé's works. It is based on the assumption that Mallarmé used only a limited number of images and constantly repeated them. But could not Mallarmé use words in different senses in different contexts? Are the parallel passages not themselves often in need of interpretation? Conversely, are they not often obvious and used to explain the obvious? Hence much tedious repetition and indeed sheer padding: there are nearly two pages of commentary for each line of verse. The method also assumes that the poems can profitably be reduced to their discursive content. Is this not a radical misunderstanding of Mallarmé's poetics, and does it not inevitably lead to a travesty of his art and thought? For Mallarmé always insisted that a poem was not made in order to convey its literal meaning, its "vaine couche suffisante d'intelligibilité": the real "treasure" of a poem lay elsewhere. But even within the sphere of literal meaning, is it not doubtful whether all the poems discussed in this volume are in fact variations on the somewhat stereotyped pattern outlined? The pattern itself is highly questionable. The sun is portrayed as capable of affliction at the prospect of imminent death but incapable of remembering that on all previous occasions it has risen again. Is there not something absurd in the idea of the poet's solemnly taking over the sun's duties for the night? Dr. Davies gravely remarks: "Quel que soit le résultat de ses efforts, cependant, le poète ne songe jamais à se dérober devant les responsabilités de sa charge" (p. 38).

This brings us to what may well be the fundamental fallacy of the book. It is assumed that when Mallarmé is talking of the mythology of primitive peoples, he is in fact referring to his own beliefs. But did he think it desirable or even possible to revert to the beliefs of primitive peoples? He says expressly: "Nous parlons aujourd'hui du Soleil qui se couche et se lève avec la certitude de voir ce fait arriver . . ." (*OC*, p. 1169). Did he expect his readers to abandon this certainty, agree to a "willing suspension of . . . belief," and sympathise with the imaginary anguish of the sun? Nowhere does Mallarmé say, as Dr. Davies appears to make him say (p. 59), and as Victor Hugo might have said of himself, that he sees in the struggle between light and darkness the great and perpetual subject of *his art*. What does he say is that this struggle is the great and perpetual subject of *Mythology* (*OC*, p. 1169). In a note to the original edition of *Les Dieux antiques* (omitted in the Pléiade edition), Mallarmé, introducing a little anthology of modern mythological poems, distinguishes between the scientific reduction of mythology to natural phenomena, and the imaginative or poetic treatment of such myths. He there affirms that so long as humanity has not created new myths, it is the duty of poets to vivify by their inspiration and rejuvenate

by a modern vision the types of Mythology (1880 edition, p. 305). The poems quoted, by Leconte de Lisle, Hugo and Banville, are straightforward recreations of mythological themes. Professor Cellier rightly remarks in his book (p. 118) that *L'Après-midi d'un faune* is a mythical symbol wherein Mallarmé's imagination has rejuvenated a type of Mythology by a modern vision. The 'solar myth' as a mainspring of Mallarmé's poetry may well be a myth in Etiemble's very different sense of the word . . .

A final disadvantage of the purely 'internal' approach is that it has made it difficult for Dr. Davies to take adequate account of the work of other scholars in the field, even where he is acquainted with it. It is surprising indeed to find no reference in *Mallarmé et le drame solaire* to M. Charles Chassé's article "Le thème du soleil chez Mallarmé" (*Quo Vadis*, oct.-dec. 1951, republished in *Les Clefs de Mallarmé*, Paris, Aubier, 1954, pp. 43-46 and *passim*, under the title "Le mythe solaire chez Mallarmé"). Dr. Davies is, in the present reviewer's opinion, a rather less unreliable guide than M. Chassé, and his treatment of the theme is certainly very much more thorough: but he should definitely have mentioned and discussed these prior publications, even if only to dismiss them as inadequate. The documentation of the book as a whole is curiously unscholarly. Mallarmé is dealt with in a kind of vacuum. The "solar myth" is taken for granted, without any reference to Max Müller or to Mallarmé's interest in comparative philology. Baudelaire's "correspondances" are discussed as if they were confined to synesthesia, and his influence is reduced to this and to sadistic perversity. No attempt is made to relate Mallarmé's use of analogy to Baudelaire's theory of "l'universelle analogie" as the great source of poetic imagery. Random reference is made to exegeses by Gengoux, Mauron, Noulet, Soula and Wais, generally to point out dubious or erroneous interpretations, but occasionally to note agreements or award compliments: Mme Noulet in particular receives some condescending encouragement (cf. p. 222, n. 27). No attempt is made to assess the position of Mallarmé studies with regard to each of the poems. Yet in the case of *Victorieusement fui . . .*, for example, it was long ago pointed out (by C. J. Brennan) that the "suicide beau" refers to the sunset. Professor A. R. Chisholm's article on *Ses purs ongles . . .* is mentioned, but not his equally relevant articles "Substance and Symbol in Mallarmé" and "Three difficult sonnets by Mallarmé" (*French Studies*, V, 1951, 36-39 and IX, 1955, 212-17), in the latter of which "Tout Orgueil . . . du soir" is interpreted as the setting sun. Other notable omissions include: J. Scherer, *Le "Livre" de Mallarmé* (Paris, Gallimard, 1957) and H. A. Grubbs, "Mallarmé's 'Ptyx' Sonnet: an Analytical and Critical Study" (PMLA, LXII, 1950, 75-89). Reference might also have been made to Guy Michaud's theory that the

Trilogy was written in 1866 (v. *Mallarmé, l'homme et l'œuvre*, Paris, Hatier-Boivin, 1953, p. 62). It is of little importance that H. Mondor's *Vie de Mallarmé* does not figure in the Bibliography, for there is no doubt that Dr. Davies is fully conversant with it, but it is surprising that the editions of the *Œuvres complètes* and *Propos sur la poésie* used are the old, unrevised and incomplete ones. One has the impression that Dr. Davies's active research was completed some years ago, and that he has not succeeded in keeping abreast of the steady stream of studies published in this field.



No one (least of all the present reviewer) could accuse Professor Léon Cellier of ignoring the work of his predecessors.² His first care has been to ascertain the present position of all the problems he considers. With scrupulous honesty and impartiality he sifts and weighs the evidence, nor does he hesitate to repeat and endorse the views of those critics with whom he agrees. As a literary historian, whose interests lie mainly in the occult trends of Romanticism, he is avowedly less interested in Mallarmé for his own sake than for his place in a larger context. He affirms indeed that literary history only reaches its goal when it expands into literary psycho-sociology. His object here is to re-examine the notion of influence, to do justice to Hugo and Gautier, and give more a comprehensive definition of French Romanticism. He offers his book as a further study of a Romantic myth: "la visite de l'ombre," and as a contribution to the poetics of Death.

That being so, it would be unjust to complain (as one is sometimes tempted to do) that Professor Cellier occasionally seems to forget, for pages on end, that his subject is after all Mallarmé. He has disarmed criticism by proclaiming that he is more concerned with the roots than the flowers. He contends that, alongside the Mallarmé who invents and innovates and looks towards the future, there is a more conservative Mallarmé who looks backwards towards the past—his own and that of poetry.

Professor Cellier follows both M. Charles Mauron and Mme Adile Ayda in attaching great importance to Mallarmé's early bereavements. In *Ophélie ou l'âme naïve*, he draws from the *Juvenilia* a picture of Mallarmé filled with revolt and despair after the death of his sister and the death of Harriet Smyth,³ but already dreaming that the dead might return. In *L'Apparition de l'ombre*, he shows that all the writers who influenced Mallarmé, namely Lamartine, Hugo, Balzac, Gautier, Poe, Bau-

2. *Mallarmé et la morte qui parle*. By Léon Cellier. (Université de Grenoble: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres, vol. 21.) Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1959. Pp. 225.

3. In *Ce que disaient les trois cigognes*.

delaire and Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, were all haunted by death and its mysteries and all dreamed of ghostly visitations. In *Ecrit sur un exemplaire des "Contemplations,"* following Mme Ayda (and chivalrously defending her against reservations made by the present reviewer), he strives to prove that the "influence" of Victor Hugo on Mallarmé remained strong throughout the whole of Mallarmé's career. He neatly summarizes his view by saying that Mallarmé's poetry often appears to be "de l'Hugo condensé" or "un sublimé d'Hugo" (p. 61). (It still remains that concentration is the direct antithesis of amplification and that the two poetries are diametrically opposed.) An important series of chapters (*Gautier, maître et ombre, Le Miroir de Venise, Le Médium* and *Chinoiserie*) deal with the influence of Gautier on Mallarmé, especially with regard to the Venetian mirrors common to both, and to the strange phenomena both see in them: Spirite and Igitur's "fantôme de l'horreur." The interesting suggestion is made that the "Chinois" in *Las de l'amer repos...* might be a reference to Gautier, and that this poem shows Mallarmé moving away from Baudelaire and towards Gautier. In *Le Rêve du faune*, a similar trend towards serenity is discerned in *L'Après-midi d'un faune* and in *Mes bouquins refermés...*, where the poet prefers the world of imagination to reality, the shadow to the substance. In *Le Maître*, Professor Cellier studies in detail the *Toast funèbre* in honour of Gautier. He rightly follows Professor Antoine Adam in seeing in 'l'Homme aboli de jadis,' not Gautier himself, but the Non-Poet, he who does not know the answer to the question: "What is the Earth?" The Master knows: for he has given a name to the beauties of the world. The eponymous chapter *La Morte qui parle* interprets the sonnet *Sur les bois oubliés...* in terms of spiritualistic ritual but also of conjugal tenderness. It is argued that the widower is gently rebuked by his deceased wife for overloading her grave with flowers (and not with their absence!), thereby making it harder for her to raise her grave-stone and visit him, which she will do if only he softly murmurs her name throughout his evening vigil by the fireside. In *La Fleur et l'étoile*, flowers are seen as the symbol of Mallarmé's lost loves, and the star as the symbol of poetic genius. Lastly, in *Le Vaisseau fantôme*, Professor Cellier gives an interesting exegesis of the sonnet of homage to Vasco da Gama, in which he sees a kind of anticipated "Tombeau de Mallarmé."

This volume, modest and tentative in scope and purpose, contains much that is new and useful. Inevitably, some points call for discussion. How far are the *Juvenilia* reliable evidence of Mallarmé's youthful attitudes? Are these not largely dictated by imitation of Musset, Lamartine and Victor Hugo? What did Mallarmé mean when he said of *L'Après-midi d'un faune* that his subject was a symbol? Surely not that his unconscious mind was equating the nymphs with Maria and Har-

riet? Is there not some confusion here between the unconscious psychological symbol and the intentional literary symbol? But even if many of these questions remain unanswered, even if many of the parallels with other authors are not convincing, even if one feels some uneasiness about the biographical approach in general and its particular relevance here, where all or most of Mallarmé's flowers are identified with his dead sister and friend, nevertheless there is no doubt that this exploration of the hinterland of Mallarmé's work has been fruitful and rewarding. All students of Mallarmé will find it well worth close study, and will hope that Professor Cellier will continue to bring his open and richly informed mind to bear on the mysteries of Mallarmé.

REVIEWS

Philippe Desportes: Les Amours de Diane. Edition critique suivie du Commentaire de Malherbe. Publiée par Victor E. Graham. Genève: Droz, 1959. 2 vols. Pp. 328. In 1958 Professor Victor E. Graham published a critical edition of Philippe Desportes' *Cartels et Masquarades, Epitaphes* (Geneva: Droz). He had already published several articles on this author and had supplemented a bibliography of Desportes' works by Jacques Lavaud, his most important and most recent biographer.

Renaissance scholars will be grateful to Professor Graham for having now added to his initial work the critical edition of Desportes' *Les Amours de Diane*. It is to be hoped that he will continue until he has presented his complete works in a new edition, as none has appeared since that of Alfred Michiels in 1858.

This is a task well worth undertaking, for Desportes was the most esteemed lyric poet of his age and the most favored man of letters. He lent his pen to the most powerful princes of the age; he composed lyrics for court festivals; he sang his own loves; he lamented in verse the death of his friends and of powerful personages; many of his lyrics were put to music and became popular songs. Some of his most beautiful and most original poems are to be found in his *Œuvres chrétiennes*; he translated many of the Psalms of David and they served as the handbook of both Catholic mystics and of Protestant dissenters. He gave learned discourses, some of which have been preserved, before one of France's first academies—the Académie du Palais. The favor he had received from his first protector, Henri III, was continued, after the assassination of that prince, by his successor, Henri IV.

Biographical material is not lacking on the life of Desportes and therefore Professor Graham has not prefaced his work with such material, although he very justly points out in the introduction to his edition of the *Cartels et Masquarades, Epitaphes* that the poems of that volume are closely related to the life of the poet. Throughout his editions he gives valuable information in generous footnotes on the poet, on his age and on his works.

These footnotes become doubly significant in the two volumes of *Les Amours de Diane*, since to the general information having to do with biography, vocabulary and historical matters he has added: a) all the variants of the numerous editions of the *Amours de Diane* published during the poet's lifetime; b) such sources as have been discovered for these *Amours*; c) mention of those which have been put to music, along with the composer; d) the complete *Commentaire de Malherbe*; and e) a clarification of words no longer in the vocabulary. The practical way in which Professor Graham has handled the *Commentaire* makes this new edition inestimably valuable to scholars who are interested in either Desportes or Malherbe. As for the rest, most of his notes summarize the

research of earlier scholars; but they are important in that they are here consolidated and made easily accessible to present and future scholars.

Professor Graham's primary interest is in the poetry rather than the poet, in the sources and influences of this poetry rather than in its content. This is not to say that he does not shed light on either the poet or the content of his poetry, but his main purpose is to establish a definitive text. He does not attempt an analysis of the basic Platonic concepts to be found in Desportes' works nor of the somewhat exaggerated *pétrarchisme* inherited from both earlier Italian and French poets. Most of that has been done elsewhere and Graham's mention of sources implies what is not stated. He has chosen as the basis of his critical edition the 1607 edition of the *Amours de Diane* which was published some months after Desportes' death (1606) but which bears the notation "Dernière édition revue et augmentée par l'autheur." He notes some difficulty in giving the *Commentaire de Malherbe* in that the marginal notes of that critic are to be found in the edition of 1600. (ROBERT M. BURGESS, *Montana State University*)

Ronsard poète de l'amour. Livre III: Du poète de cour au chantre d'Hélène. Par Fernand Desonay. Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1959. Pp. 414. The present volume completes the trilogy undertaken by M. Desonay some ten years ago and carried to a successful conclusion in the face of very real difficulties. The author, and the wide learned public he will undoubtedly reach, are to be equally congratulated on the quality, as well as the magnitude, of the accomplishment.

The preceding volumes were reviewed by the writer in these pages (XLV [1954], 135-41; XLVI [1955], 292-93). No point would be served by a reiteration of the position adopted in those reviews. A careful reading of M. Desonay's last volume, as pleasurable and interesting an experience as the study of the earlier two, has not modified that position.

In this "dernier visage de Ronsard," M. Desonay examines the erotic aspects of the poet's Court compositions and of the *Sonnets pour Hélène*. In the first group (pp. 21-199), he analyses the *Elegies*, *Mascarades et Bergerie*, the *Sonets et Madrigals pour Astrée*, the *Sixiesme* and the *Septiesme Livre de Poèmes*, the *Amours d'Eurymedon, et de Callirée*, the group of poems *Sur la Mort de Marie* in commemoration of the death of the Princesse de Condé, Marie de Clèves, and finally, the *Amours diverses*. The second part of the volume (pp. 203-341) is exclusively devoted to a detailed and frequently illuminating discussion of Ronsard's last sonnet sequence, the one he addressed to Hélène de Surgères. This is followed by a conclusion to the entire trilogy, in which the author asks himself, with searching and unsparing honesty, whether he did not limit himself too much in devoting three volumes solely to the love poetry of Ronsard, and treats, with equal and exemplary integrity, the objections raised by critics of the earlier volumes.

At the end of his vast research M. Desonay has the clearest realization that, in spite of the fact that Ronsard's greatest achievements were his love songs, the self-imposed restriction to the discussion of this single domain inevitably results in a circumscribed view of a man of varied spiritual and intellectual

attainments: "Ronsard . . . s'offre désormais à mes regards comme le plus insaisissable des protégés: amoureux, courtisan, jardinier, mais politique aussi, mais théoricien de la poésie, catholique militant à ses heures, philosophe surtout, épris d'occultisme et de démonologie, infiniment curieux du mystère sans cesse renouvelé des êtres vivants et des choses, hanté à mesure qu'il avance en âge par les insondables problèmes du branle universel et des caprices du destin. Ce Ronsard-là, dont les horizons ne feront que s'élargir, il me semble l'avoir par trop négligé, sinon méconnu, dans une étude fragmentaire dès le point de départ et qui risque de rapetisser les perspectives. Mais j'avais choisi délibérément de traiter Ronsard poète de l'amour; il est trop tard pour changer de propos" (p. 343).

These eloquent and moving words, based on a reading of the totality of Ronsard's production, reveal a rich and exact appreciation of the immensity of the poet's resources. But it is fair to add that given the choice of subject, no one was better qualified to treat it than M. Desonay. Though I have been unable to accept his theories, central to the entire work, in explanation of Ronsard's oscillation between the decasyllable and the alexandrine, it would be ungenerous not to express my gratitude for the revealing insights, in each of M. Desonay's three volumes, into many compositions and passages of Ronsard. An attentive study of this work cannot but enlarge one's comprehension of the meaning and value of the most important aspect of Ronsard's writings. Many of Ronsard's greatest poems have found in M. Desonay their surest and most felicitous exegete. (ISIDORE SILVER, Washington University)

An Age of Crisis: Man and World in Eighteenth Century French Thought. By Lester G. Crocker. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1959. Pp. xx + 488. This "synthetical study of French ethical thought during the Age of Enlightenment" is an ambitious project by an author whose past contributions to the general field of eighteenth-century thought and literature mark him as eminently qualified to assume such an assignment. The book here reviewed constitutes only the first part of an eventual study and, for that reason, places certain reservations on the following remarks. Final comprehension must await the appearance of the second part ("a study of theories relating to the genesis of moral experience and the nature of moral judgment") and the concluding study ("an analysis of the ethical systems and value concepts . . . evolved in an effort to solve the problems of moral life").

In this first volume which examines the metaphysical and psychological assumptions prerequisite to ethical theory, the reader is immediately struck by the vast and critical reading that lies behind Professor Crocker's writing. Along with his thorough knowledge of secondary sources, it is clear that he has consulted almost every possible contemporary text available, choosing wisely representatives of extreme and middle positions. The organization of the volume follows a chronological development within a given problem rather than a straight chronological line. The first section, "Man in the Universe," reviews thinking on man's place in creation in relation to God as well as on the inevitable problem of theodicy. The second section comes to grips with the problem of freedom vs. determinism and its consequences for morality. In a final

section labeled "Human Nature and Motivation" Professor Crocker includes a rather heterogeneous collection of chapters aimed at discovering eighteenth-century notions of what human nature is and, after tracing both optimistic and pessimistic points of view (particularly in reference to the controlling passion of self-interest), ends with a chapter on the novel as representative of the various aspects of human nature subjected to scrutiny in the century. This chapter on the novel is a particularly well organized and provocative one.

There are very probably points of detail in Crocker's synthesis of the thought of a given writer on which readers may find themselves at variance. In a work of the scope planned, such minor disagreements are inevitable. All one can ask is that the general lines of development adhere to generally accepted and justifiable scholarly consensus. This Professor Crocker has done very well. Further, he has foreseen many potential difficulties of opinion and explained his own position in well documented footnotes. Indeed, the footnotes sometimes seem to proliferate and the inclusion of snippets of this or that secondary writer (included with the admirable aim of being complete) many times obscures for the reader the movement and direction of the author's thought.

The general thesis is that, starting with, roughly, the Regency, there is a growing desire, involving a concomitant and near-insuperable problem, to equate *natural* with *moral* in the minds of eighteenth-century thinkers, be they *philosophes*, materialists, or traditionalists eager to combat the iconoclasts with their own weapons. If reason is assumed to be a natural, rather than a privileged, attribute of man on the same terms as the passions of the sentient man-animal, then it is clear that Cartesian notions of control must be retired to make way for a conception of ethics based on what is and what can be observed in passionate man. This problem immediately necessitates a clearer notion of terms—nature, reason, man—and this Crocker does well at the outset. As the century develops, he sees the antitheses nature-reason, materialism-spiritualism hastening inevitably toward the terminus of moral nihilism and the disorders of the Revolution. The century that begins with the discreet and subsequently revised daring of a Montesquieu ends with the complete license of a Sade and, in its course, shows much instability and change of position in even the most responsible writers. One of the great virtues of this study is Crocker's constant awareness of the dilemmas and contradictions inherent in the positions assumed by many of the century's thinkers. Thus Diderot seems many times more Rousseau than Jean-Jacques and the latter, for all his heart, seems often closer to the rational *a priori*ism which Kant will develop along with his great sympathy for Rousseau. Crocker has the additional virtue of not making his players fit too tightly into the costumes best calculated to advance his thesis. A footnote on Diderot is a case in point: "Whether Diderot keeps within the bounds of materialism, or surpasses it, is a question that has often been discussed but not resolved. It is certain, at any rate, that he intends to remain within its bounds, or thinks he does" (p. 125). Crocker makes clear throughout the volume another basic and possibly confusing fact of the century, which he sums up well in this culmination: "A new positivistic outlook denounces hypotheses and mathematical *a priori*s; yet, unable to find explanations and solutions according to its own methodology, this positivism supposes and imag-

ines what it cannot observe and uses the very rationalistic approach it condemns" (p. 449).

However sketchy the above suggestions of the book, it should be made clear that the author has combined broad documentation with a subtlety and critical care of interpretation which are admirable. It is only when such careful analysis of detail turns into personal synthesis of main lines of development that the reader may well wish to split hairs. As clear as the case for Sade can be made, Crocker insists perhaps too much upon him as the *inevitable* endpoint of the century. Was it necessary (p. 323) for example to equate completely Laclos, Sade and the *Neveu de Rameau*? The last work is, still, a dialogue. Careful as he may be to destroy the notion that the *philosophes* caused the Revolution (p. 448 ff.), Crocker nonetheless insists heavily upon the fact that they prepared it and that the direction of their thought toward moral nihilism, Sade, and the Revolution as it actually turned out was a necessary and inescapable progression. One wonders if any idea can be condemned because it was badly interpreted and implemented. Here Crocker may counter in the affirmative since it was the mistake of the *philosophes* to think that such ideas, despite education and indeed because of its limitations, could be anything other than badly interpreted. They were themselves so full of doubt, shifting of position and contradiction, a difficult combination of empiricism and rationalism. Although Crocker mentions it throughout (e.g. p. 323: "This pessimism about man was not exclusive of meliorism . . ."), he seems never to balance the insistence he places on moral nihilism with an insistence he might have put on another trend. This is the shifting but tenacious development toward accepting man as, to be sure, only a part of objectiveless order (p. 452) and yet, notwithstanding, an exception to and a different part of the rest of the universe. The effort of rational solutions becomes, in effect, very difficult (p. 452) but, analyzed either through eighteenth-century eyes or from the vantage point of the twentieth, does this cause "the foundations of moral nihilism to be assured"?

In such a broad study, these queries of detail may seem petty as well as the following questions of a more technical nature. The organization of the book (an admitted problem with no perfect solution) many times disconcerts the reader with its many references to earlier or later discussions (p. 123, l. 17; p. 289, Nicole's analysis of self-love which prepares Abbadie's *amour-propre* and *amour de soi* given earlier on page 279 as a new "distinction [that] had widespread influence"). Translations are not always given and some, as always, are debatable (p. 46, "conditions," becomes "classes" in *Neveu de Rameau*; p. 385, "would indeed be to be pitied"). In the otherwise excellent bibliography, publishers are not always given. The author's pithy expression sometimes lacks preparation and clarification (p. 400, note: "In fact, this was a wrong interpretation of the world-view of Jesus, etc. . ."); this is clearly debatable depending upon one's theologian; p. 388, "the sources of Rousseau are in Spinoza"; p. 157, "Voltaire's conversion to materialism," p. 145, note 29, Leibnitz' doctrine of monads is "close to Aristotle's").

Professor Crocker has in no way duplicated areas covered by Lovejoy, Becker,

Cassirer, Hazard and Havens. He has envisaged a project of staggering proportions and has delivered a provocative and scholarly promissory note. The succeeding studies will be awaited with all the more expectancy because of the quality of the first. He has the courage to do what needed to be done; who says eighteenth century says immediately ethics and morality. In the final analysis, aside from commendation for a scholarly study, Professor Crocker merits admiration for another reason. His intent in writing this long study is patently a very moral one and tribute must be paid to the scholar who dares tackle again the thorny problem of ethics in terms of our own contemporary confusion. It is true that there are moments in the book when the author skirts the danger of moralizing and sounds, surprisingly, almost like a disciple of Niebuhr. But that is not the point made here. Crocker, in his close attachment and real knowledge of the French eighteenth century, has written a book inspired by the deepest humanism of the age; he is not too weary to re-examine that age with the hope of finding where western civilization has gone off the track. (J. ROBERT LOY, Brooklyn College)

Frédéric, roi de Prusse, L'Anti-Machiavel. Édition critique avec les remaniements de Voltaire pour les deux versions. Publiée par Charles Fleischauer. (Publications de l'Institut et Musée Voltaire, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, no. V.) Genève, 1958. Pp. 384. On savait en lignes générales le rôle qu'avait joué Voltaire dans la genèse et l'élaboration de *l'Anti-Machiavel*, on n'avait pas encore examiné de près la part exacte de Voltaire censeur et rédacteur de l'ouvrage royal. Le problème n'existe plus maintenant. Par un travail herculéen M. Fleischauer a, dans la collection dirigée par M. Besterman, collationné dans un texte continu (qu'on me pardonne ce qui suit) additions, suppressions, corrections de style de diverses versions de différents chapitres d'un manuscrit original en même temps que de deux éditions imprimées (les changements sont dûment indiqués par des parenthèses, crochets différents, italiques et notes au bas de la page). Travail herculéen pour l'éditeur et presque autant pour le lecteur. La tâche d'en rendre compte n'est pas simplifiée par une introduction explicative et un résumé critique de la valeur des remaniements voltairiens. Le travail d'édition n'a pas dû laisser à l'auteur le temps de mettre de l'ordre dans ses papiers. A moins qu'il n'ait été mal servi par son traducteur ou imprimeur. En se frayant un chemin dans les éclaircissements un peu déroutants, mais mieux, en s'aidant de la correspondance publiée des deux protagonistes, on comprend que deux éditions rivales avaient paru en 1740 à La Haye, toutes les deux dues aux efforts de Voltaire, toutes les deux sous le titre de *Anti-Machiavel*, mais avec des sous-titres différents: la première, *Examen du Prince de Machiavel*; la seconde, *Essai de Critique sur le Prince de Machiavel*. C'était Voltaire qui avait encouragé le prince héritier à mener à bien la réfutation du "scélérat" florentin et Voltaire encore qui l'avait convaincu d'autoriser la publication. Le prince, bientôt roi, avait humblement demandé à Voltaire de corriger style et contenu. Et Voltaire, brûlant d'impatience de donner au monde un elixir de bon gouvernement, préparé par l'artisan le plus compétent dans la matière, un jeune prince philosophe, et, en plus, son disciple, s'était mis à l'œuvre d'arrache-pied. Il

avait trouvé le titre de l'ouvrage et un libraire en Hollande. Les presses roulaient lorsque le prince commença à se repentir de son ouvrage, on ne sait trop pourquoi. Peut-être pressentait-il que son nouveau rôle de monarque ne lui permettrait plus de conserver des thèses trop élevées sur la conduite des princes. Il demanda d'arrêter la publication et Voltaire essaya de son mieux d'y réussir auprès du libraire numéro un, tout en livrant une deuxième version, plus soignée, plus sobre, à un autre libraire. D'où les deux éditions à sous-titre différent. Pour le travail de Voltaire, on voit aisément qu'il avait pris soin du texte comme s'il se fût agi de sa production propre. Pas une page où il n'ait supprimé des longueurs, des redites, des épithètes inutilement injurieuses pour Machiavel, ou tempéré des remarques imprudentes sur un prince vivant ou sur un point de religion. Ailleurs il assure au texte une plus grande précision historique, ajoute des anecdotes de son cru et, dans la deuxième édition surtout, s'efforce de réduire encore les expressions trop libres de Frédéric. M. Fleischauer attire judicieusement l'attention sur le fait que Voltaire, pas plus que les contemporains, ne semble avoir aperçu des passages clairement machiavéliques dans la réfutation royale. L'auteur s'en rendait-il compte lui-même? Les lecteurs, en tout cas, étaient tous dupes de leurs préventions favorables à l'égard de l'auteur, du moins ceux qui perçaient le voile léger de l'anonymat. Les autres étaient entraînés par des espoirs progressistes, séduits qu'ils étaient par la condamnation vénémente par l'auteur et son propagandiste infatigable, des mauvais principes du Florentin. La "raison d'état" qui s'exprimait de plus en plus clairement dans l'ouvrage leur resta cachée.

En somme, la contribution de Voltaire à *l'Anti-Machiavel* est définitivement établie par cette édition scrupuleuse qui comporte, en plus d'une Introduction, la traduction française du *Prince* que Frédéric avait lue, la Réfutation, et une bibliographie des éditions de *l'Anti-Machiavel* parues du vivant de Frédéric. (EVA MARCU, *Columbia University*)

Denis Diderot: Correspondance. Recueillie, établie et annotée par Georges Roth. Vol. V (janvier 1765-février 1766). Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1959. Pp. 266. The year 1765 is in many ways typical of the colorful and turbulent pattern of Diderot's life: it teems with people, events, and multifarious projects and ideas. Characters of all types, friends and foes, reappear or make their first entrance in this fifth volume of letters masterfully presented by M. Roth. As in the past, he has not spared himself in seeking out all relevant data and in correcting the texts of the too frequent misreadings which marred the preceding editions. Thanks to M. Roth's untiring devotion and to his impeccable and graceful scholarship we have at last Diderot's letters ordered chronologically, rendered in reliable form and illuminated by a rich setting of judicious notes and informative commentaries with helpful headings. In addition, significant fragments of letters by other correspondents shed a better light on the Encyclopedist's many-faceted activities and relations with contemporaries.

An important and happy event marks this year of 1765. The epic enterprise of the *Encyclopédie* was finally brought to a successful conclusion with the simultaneous publication of the last ten volumes. On August 18, after nearly twenty years of continuous toil and anxiety, Diderot could at long last breathe a

deep sigh of relief, although there still remained the task of supervising the printing of the volumes of plates. In an eloquent and moving letter to the readers of the *Encyclopédie*, which was to serve as preface to Volume VIII, Diderot recalled the innumerable difficulties which he and his associates had encountered in this long and perilous venture and expressed the hope that the monument so painfully erected would, in spite of its imperfections, withstand the test of time and help the cause of enlightenment.

Another encouraging happening contributed to making this year a good one. On March 16, Catherine II generously helped the impecunious philosopher out of his financial straits by not only purchasing his precious library, which he had been forced to put up for sale, but by leaving it in his charge with an annual pension. The news of this windfall quickly spread throughout Europe and was joyfully greeted by Voltaire and other friends of Diderot.

A relatively short mood of fatigue and depression seems to have followed the publication of the *Encyclopédie*: "L'esprit est abattu, la tête est lasse et paresseuse, le corps en piteux état" (Letter of Aug. 18 to Sophie Volland). But soon Diderot was again in high spirits and hard at work on new projects, particularly on his *Salon de 1765* (excerpts of which are included in this volume), followed by the *Essai sur la peinture*. In a letter to Sophie Volland, dated November 10, he could boast of having dashed off more than two hundred pages in two weeks and of feeling as vigorous as a young man: "Ça été une assez douce satisfaction pour moi que cet essai. Je me suis convaincu qu'il me restoit pleinement, entièrement toute l'imagination et la chaleur de trente ans, avec un fonds de connaissance et de jugement que je n'avois point alors."

In 1765 Diderot was fifty-two years old and his letters of that period testify to his vast experience as a man and as a writer. His passion for Sophie Volland has mellowed, but he still shows a deep affection and tender concern for her well-being and delicate health. There are now more allusions to the diverse ailments which afflict his wife and friends, with humorous and clinical descriptions of his own physiological state, particularly after too copious a supper! There are the Rabelaisian tales, the lively anecdotes, the pungent remarks, the accounts of intellectual discussions, the perceptive introspective analyses, the philosophic meditations and the lyrical flights which characterize Diderot's style and make its texture so rich and diversified. There are also the telling and picturesque vignettes of the scholars, abbés, witty women, artists, actors, traveling Englishmen and exuberant Italians with whom he came in contact or of whose adventures and misadventures he heard through intermediaries. Their very voices seem to ring through these pages, thanks to Diderot's uncanny art of dialogue. And finally, there is his pathetic and vain effort to effectuate a rapprochement with the lonely and unhappy Rousseau, with whom he had quarreled in 1757; the intractable Jean-Jacques repeatedly and categorically refused to rekindle a friendship which he considered extinguished forever (Letter from Rousseau to d'Escherny, dated April 6). When, in December, warm-hearted Diderot learned that Rousseau was in Paris for a brief stay before embarking for England, he hoped but no longer expected to receive a visit from his former friend (Letter to S. V. of Dec. 20).

Diderot was mistaken in counting on a more leisurely pace after having revised and prepared for publication the last tomes of the *Encyclopédie*. Everyone, from Sedaine to Raynal, sought his expert advice or active collaboration; and the demanding Grimm, in particular, was pressing him for the *Salon* and other critical reports. In December Diderot's help on the *Correspondance Littéraire* was more urgently needed than ever, since Grimm was having trouble with his eyesight. Our philosopher, always so generous with his time and genius, cheerfully undertook this additional responsibility, noting to Sophie: "Je commence à me désabuser de la chimère du repos" (Dec. 20). Moreover, in November he had become involved in a long epistolary discussion with Falconet, his friend the sculptor, over the question whether a regard for posterity inspires men to noble actions and the creation of masterpieces. Whereas the irascible and down to earth sculptor stubbornly refuted this view, the philosopher upheld it with all the eloquence and enthusiasm of which he was capable, exhorting his doubting friend and citing many examples of men moved to great actions by this "sentiment of immortality." This controversy was to ramify in many directions, lasting a year and occupying over two hundred pages of Diderot's correspondence. It seems to me that M. Roth, both in his Introduction and commentaries, tends to dismiss rather perfunctorily a polemic which, aside from its literary and psychological value, had the merit of forcing Diderot to reevaluate and defend a notion which was especially dear to his heart.¹

In 1765 Diderot also took under his wing Mlle Jodin, a young actress prematurely orphaned, to whom he sent long missives filled with paternal advice and admonitions, as well as apt observations on the art of acting. Three other new correspondents worthy of mention are the kindly abbé Le Monnier, philanthropist and translator of Terence and Persius; the naturalist Guéneau de Montbeillard, neighbor and collaborator of Buffon; and Allan Ramsay, a Scottish painter of great learning and wit, whose remarks on Beccaria's treatise Diderot translated into French.

On the whole, a happy and fruitful year, as can be attested by these familiar and sympathetic letters which breathe creative energy, a healthy outlook on life, a courageous acceptance of the human condition, and a determined faith in man. Here is an intimate and day-by-day image of a writer and thinker whose most endearing qualities are his humanity, candor, and humor tempered with compassion. Nowhere else is Diderot's powerful and compelling personality so faithfully mirrored and nowhere else can one find as vivid a picture of eighteenth-century social and intellectual life. By providing us with this authoritative edition M. Roth is making an important contribution to the field of letters and the history of ideas. (GITA MAY, Columbia University)

Essais sur Diderot et l'antiquité. Par Jean Seznec. Oxford: Clarendon, 1957. Pp. 149 + 80 planches. All too often, art historians oversimplify the meaning of antiquity for the later eighteenth century. In general, one reads first of the

1. For a searching analysis of the several themes intertwined in these letters as well as for all the variants and subsequent revisions, see H. Dieckmann and J. Seznec, *Diderot et Falconet: Correspondance; Les six premières lettres* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 195^c). This edition appeared too late to be of help to M. Roth.

growth of archeological zeal, and then of that slavish imitation of Greek and Roman models which presumably repressed artistic originality in favor of an unquestioning veneration of the past. Professor Seznec's book, originally presented as six lectures at Bryn Mawr, could hardly offer a better antidote to such a view, for it deals with antiquity as interpreted by one of the most marvelously flexible and inquisitive minds of the eighteenth century. Using a technique of paraphrase and quotation, Professor Seznec examines Diderot's attitudes toward a number of antique matters, with the happy result that the reader is left with a vivid and tonic impression of the wit, suppleness, and wisdom of Diderot's thought processes instead of with a series of cut and dry generalizations. Indeed, for Diderot, if not for all his contemporaries, antiquity was neither a growing body of archeological data nor an immutable esthetic canon, but rather a beloved repository of human achievement—be it visual, literary, moral, political—to be consulted with reference to living problems. Thus, while the issues raised here concern primarily the visual arts, Diderot's approach is so broad that it reverberates into all areas of experience and embarrasses our twentieth century's tidy and far too tightly sealed compartmentalizations.

The figure of Socrates, for example, is the subject of an essay which explores how real and immediate the Greek philosopher was for the French *philosophe* in particular and for the later eighteenth century in general. So saturated was Diderot with admiration for and knowledge of Socrates that, during his own four-month imprisonment in 1749 for subversion, he identified himself with his Greek prototype¹ and later, on certain letters, even used a personal seal which reproduced an antique profile of the great Athenian. Or, more amusingly, Professor Seznec can point out how a contemporary could refer to Diderot's at times shrewish wife as Xanthippe. The rich fabric of allusions, however, hardly stops in so personal a realm, for Diderot early considered the suitability of Socrates' final moments for the theater and for painting. With a characteristically anti-roccoco awareness of the didactic, moralizing potentialities of the arts, Diderot discusses possible interpretations of the theme with reference to contemporary pictorial versions of Socrates, and we are again made to realize that for the period, a painting of *La Mort de Socrate* was not just a still-born pastiche of archeological finds, but a drama pregnant with ethical and political meanings.

Yet if Diderot can approach antiquity with the hope of edifying public morality, he can be as fully concerned with questions more closely circumscribed within an aesthetic realm. Of such problems, Diderot has much to say. There is, for one, the deliciously witty controversy with Falconet over the quality of those Greek paintings known only through the literary descriptions of Pliny the Elder or Pausanias. Opposing Diderot's fervent defense of the presumed greatness of Polygnotus' lost paintings, the sculptor finds it nonsense to revere unseen art and, to add insult to injury, refers to Pliny as "un petit radoteur." Elsewhere, Professor Seznec guides us through such matters as Diderot's concept (borrowed, we learn, from Hogarth) of the method the ancients used to achieve

1. It is worth mentioning in this context that in Hubert Robert's self-portrait in the prison of Sainte-Pélagie (1793) the lintel on the door reads: "Carcere Socratis. Donus honoris."

ideal beauty; the discrepancies between his theory and practice of allegory in art; his reconsideration of Horace's "Ut pictura, poesis erit . . .," in which, paralleling Lessing, he arrives at new conclusions concerning the unique characteristics of poetry as opposed to painting and the proper ways of transcribing classical poetry to eighteenth-century canvases; his role in the antagonism between the *antiquaires* and the *philosophes* (a flagrant hostility that obliged Mme Geoffrin to hold separate weekly dinners—Monday and Wednesday—for each of the two factions) and his specially barbed comments against the leader of *anticomanie*, the Comte de Caylus. And not least, Professor Seznec makes us aware of the prophetic nature of Diderot's thought and feeling, which seem to find fruition not only in the noble and ethical Neoclassic paintings of David, but even in the Romantic world of Delacroix and Baudelaire.

It remains to be said that Professor Seznec is the perfect cicerone in this excursion through a great mind. Equally at home in any number of disciplines, he rivals, in terms of modern scholarship, the breadth of Diderot himself. His footnotes alone offer a quietly dazzling array of erudition, whether he deals with the representation of Medea in ancient art or the tracing of a motif through Michelet and Proust. But like Diderot, Professor Seznec puts his erudition to use. With rare grace, precision, and intelligence, he casts a steady light upon the complex and often contradictory facets of Diderot's mind in the fullest context of its visual and intellectual environment. As such, these six modest essays become eminently agreeable required reading for anyone interested in the eighteenth century or in the vitality of the classical tradition.
 (ROBERT ROSENBLUM, Princeton University)

Leopardi und die Antike. Di Hans Ludwig Scheel. (Münchener Romanische Arbeiten, Heft XIV.) München: Max Hueber, 1959. Pp. 162. La vita intellettuale del Leopardi fu più lunga di quanto le date della nascita e della morte (1798-1837) non lascerebbero supporre. I primi documenti della sua attività letteraria risalgono infatti al 1809, quando il ragazzo prodigo non aveva che undici anni. Nel 1818 il periodo anche troppo fertile della sua formazione poteva dirsi compiuto. In quest'anno egli componeva il *Discorso di un italiano sopra la poesia romantica*, dove in sostanza si dimostrava indipendente da ogni scuola, soprattutto perché egli era stato a scuola soltanto di se stesso. Di questo anno medesimo è la canzone *All'Italia* nella quale, sotto la superficie patriottica, pulsano due temi principali della poesia leopardiana, cioè un senso di sconfinata desolazione e un disperato attaccamento alle memorie non già di Roma, ma della Grecia presente nella fantasia, anche se perduta nella realtà storica (*Oh venturose e care a benedette / L'antiche età . . .*).

Il periodo di cui parliamo era stato studiato sotto diversi rispetti. Non lo trascurano né le monografie esistenti sull'intera opera del Poeta, né i numerosi commenti ai *Canti* a alle *Operette morali*. Tuttavia un lavoro dedicato principalmente a ricostruire la formazione del Leopardi tra il 1809 e il 1818 ancora mancava, forse anche per la difficoltà di connettere tra loro elementi che appaiono disparatissimi. Lo Scheel ha riempito la lacuna, seguendo un filo criticamente valido, originale e, in fondo, semplice. Peccato che il titolo del libro non lo rispecchi completamente. Invece di *Leopardi und die Antike*, io pre-

ferisco leggere *Leopardi durch die Antike zu sich selbst*. E' infatti accaduto che attraverso i poeti latini e soprattutto greci il Leopardi è andato selezionando non solo quel tesoro di immagini e di miti, nei quali ha espresso e accarezzato i moti più sentimentali e più soggettivi della sua anima moderna e delusa, ma anche la propria poetica. Vediamo dunque le successive fasi di questo processo.

Tra il 1809 e il 1812 il Leopardi, sotto la guida di un buon prete, si è provato nella composizione di argomenti romani e biblici. Una nota amara non manca nei primi. Roma cadrà vinta e calpestata da Cesare, il tiranno che il ragazzetto—forse identificandolo con Napoleone—aveva imparato ad odiare (*Roma infelice, sventurata Roma...*). Ad ogni modo, romani o biblici, quegli argomenti rientrano negli esercizi convenzionali e obbligatori. Di maniera è anche l'inserzione di quadretti con scene della natura, appena se ne presenti il destro, una natura ora dispensatrice di una pace sicura e diffusa, ora devastatrice sovrana e inesorabile di quanto l'uomo ha fatto per sua difesa. Giustamente l'A. mette in rilievo queste pitture, per l'importanza che il tema natura assumerà via via.

Il mondo intero ricopria la notte
D'un fosco velo; pallidetta la luna
Incerta fra l'orror di rotte nubi
Con fioco lume il rugiadoso corno
Ora scopriva, ed or togliea, fuggendo.

Il fanciullo undicenne sa comporre, sebbene con originalità molto limitata; "accanto all'influenza di Omero e di Vergilio si avverte qui l'imitazione del Tasso: 'pallidetta luna,' 'incerta,' 'orror di rotte nubi,' 'rugiadoso,'" (p. 15). Tuttavia la luna e il contrasto tra il chiaror di luna in cielo e gli affanni umani in terra, resterà come un *topos* incancellabile nella fantasia del Leopardi; gli attributi con cui egli la rivestirà nelle poesie più mature (amica, candida, cara, vergine, intatta) rappresentano l'elaborazione di un'immagine con valore simbolico, che si è fissata in lui precocissimamente per non più cancellarsi (p. 44).

Nell'estate e nell'autunno del 1813 il Leopardi imparò da sé quella lingua greca, per la quale il buon prete suo maestro non poteva più aiutarlo. Ne seguì una serie di lavori filologici. Per la valutazione di essi l'A. ha trovato nel Timpanaro (*La filologia di Giacomo Leopardi*, Firenze, 1955) un predecessore che gli ha fornito dei risultati "definitivi." Il Leopardi fu senza dubbio un meraviglioso e anche miracoloso autodidatta, ma non quell'autorevole filologo che è stato per lungo tempo ritenuto: "In realtà il valore assoluto delle opere filologiche, specialmente le prime, è assai scarso. In fondo Leopardi ha visto meglio il valore negativo della maggior parte di esse nei suoi giudizi tra il 1817 e il 1820, che non più tardi," quando venne suggestionato da ammiratori eccessivi ancorchè competenti (p. 62). Di questo "valore negativo" l'A. ha saputo giovarsi come di uno strumento ermeneutico indiretto, e pure importante. Anzichè insistere sul Leopardi filologo, egli ha posto la sua attenzione sulla fase ulteriore. In breve tempo, infatti, il Leopardi, secondo la sua propria testimonianza, si trasformò in un *letterato*, il che implica aggiungere alla filologia pura compiti e responsabilità di altro genere.

Fino dalla puerizia il Leopardi aveva cominciato a circoscrivere il campo delle sue esperienze psicologiche e poetiche, nelle quali l'idillico occupa una

parte notevolissima. Da prima egli venne sollecitato evidentemente dalla tradizione settecentesca corroborata dallo studio dei classici (esempi a pp. 24-28). Poi si diede a esperimenti più immediati. A questo proposito si confronti a p. 47 l'interessante passo riportato dal *Saggio sopra gli errori popolari degli antichi* (1815): "Tutto brilla nella natura all'istante del meriggio. L'agricoltore che prende cibo e riposo; i buoi sdraiati e coperti d'insetti volanti...." E' un bozzetto idillico, ma non è ancora un problema. Il problema si impose al Leopardi poco dopo, con le sue traduzioni del greco (soprattutto gli *Idilli di Mosco* e la *Titanomachia* di Esiodo, anche del 1815) e con le prose che le accompagnano.

A questo punto le cose si fanno più complesse. Si tratta infatti di discriminare tre elementi diversi: l'atteggiamento poetico che sottostà ai testi greci presi di per se stessi; l'atteggiamento poetico che sottostà alle versioni italiane del Leopardi; infine l'atteggiamento critico del Leopardi verso quei testi che, da lui tradotti, subivano già per questo una interpretazione, una colorazione difficilmente identica alla originale.

Considerati, dunque, in se stessi, gli *Idilli di Mosco* appartengono a un genere di "poesia descrittiva, obbiettivamente bucolica," scevra di accenti emotivi e sentimentali (pp. 90-91). Al contrario le traduzioni del Leopardi si distinguono per una vibrazione soggettiva subito percepibile che le rende sentimentali e commoventi (p. 91), le rende molto prossime, nel tono, a quelli che saranno gli idilli suoi propri, nostalgici e romantici. D'altronde nel relativo *Discorso su Mosco* il Leopardi non si mostra affatto consapevole di essere stato, in questo senso, un traduttore-traditore; di conseguenza, nel discorrere della poesia di un greco, discorre piuttosto di se stesso, o meglio comincia a scoprire se stesso.

Un simile "errore" (p. 134) si ripete con la traduzione della *Titanomachia* e con le considerazioni che si incontrano nella relativa prefazione. Mette il conto di trascrivere anche noi il passo che l'A. cita a p. 108, tanto più che il giudizio contenuto in esso non è circoscritto a un singolo poeta, ma abbraccia in una unica caratterizzazione l'intero "leggiadro tempo" dell'antichità greca.

Leggiadro tempo quando il poeta della natura, fresca vergine intatta, vedendo tutto con gli occhi propri, non s'affannando a cercare novità, che tutto era nuovo, creando, senza pensarla, le regole dell'arte, con quella negligenza di cui ora tutta la forza dell'ingegno e dello studio appena ci sa dare la sembianza, cantava cose divine ed eternamente durature!

A questi antichi "poeti della natura, fresca vergine intatta," va dunque il merito di essersi sottratti, *avant la lettre*, alla disciplina del Boileau. Non si erano chinati all'autorità delle regole; essi stessi le avevano create "senza pensarla," con una istintiva "negligenza," non risuscitabile né per forza d'ingegno né per forza di studio.

Percorrendo tali vie, vale a dire mediante le sue traduzioni e le considerazioni su di esse, il Leopardi giunse a fare degli antichi i paladini e realizzatori degli ideali estetici del primo '800. Per converso negò ai moderni quelle facoltà che a loro di diritto sarebbero spettate. L'antitesi, così ottenuta, forma

il nocciolo del *Discorso intorno alla poesia romantica* (1818). Sarebbe stato interessante determinare quale poesia e quale letteratura romantica il Leopardi avesse in mente. Stando al *Discorso* stesso, egli non reagiva contro un Hölderlin o uno Shelley, ma contro la produzione romantica deteriore, che anche noi oggi, come lui allora, consideriamo cianfrusaggia. L'A. non si impegna in questa indagine—né so se sia mai stata tentata—e nel capitolo V si sofferma sulle posizioni teoriche del Leopardi. Con ciò entriamo in un campo più familiare agli studiosi.

L'idea di una natura "vergine e intatta" sta a fondamento del *Discorso*, dove questi attributi, incontrati poco sopra, sono ripetuti tali e quali. Essa, ed essa sola, la natura primordiale, offre un repertorio inesauribile di motivi "eterni." Alla loro volta i motivi eterni, cari al cuore di ogni individuo umano oltre il mutare di civiltà e di nazioni, vengono ricevuti ed espressi soltanto da poeti "primitivi." Con la loro fervida fantasia, non freddata dalla "ragione," i poeti primitivi infondono vita alle cose inanimate rendendole patetiche e "sentimentali." Molte pagine del *Discorso* tendono infatti a provare che la romantica sentimentalità, nella sua larga accezione di soggettività, fu già un carattere squisito della poesia antica.

A noi moderni altro non resta, secondo il Leopardi, che "rimettersi coll'immaginazione come meglio possiamo nello stato primitivo" (citazione a p. 114). Un simile trasferimento dal presente al passato, una simile inversione psicologica, non si esaurisce in un'impresa chimerica. Lo stato primitivo è meno distante di quanto si possa credere. Ogni uomo nella sua fanciullezza è un primitivo; la fantasia del fanciullo sperimenta la natura in maniera non diversa da quella dei greci. Di qui l'affinità di due temi leopardiani, due simboli con eguale valore: la memoria di tempi favolosi sepolti nei secoli, e la memoria di impressioni ed emozioni di quando il Poeta bambino si destava alle maraviglie del mondo.

Tuttavia il modificarsi della condizione umana, il progresso intellettuale e scientifico, la conquista del triste ma innegabile vero e lo sfatamento delle favole incidono sulla poetica del Leopardi e le aggiungono l'ultimo tocco: il ritorno all'antichità e alla fanciullezza non è che un'illusione, un'evasione in bellezza, dolce ed idillica, da gli affanni di un secolo che ha appreso insieme la verità e lo squallore dell'esistenza; dolce ed idillica, e pur sempre illusione ed evasione.

Tale il disegno che lo Scheel traccia. Il contributo maggiore, di cui gli siamo molto grati, sta nell'aver messo a fuoco il punto e la maniera in cui il Leopardi cominciò a organizzare il suo gusto e le sue idee estetiche. Senza dubbio da ciò ne viene una più adeguata comprensione di una personalità enigmatica per diversi lati. Molte cose messé in nota avrebbero potuto esser fuse nel testo, qualora l'A. avesse voluto raccontare con più distensione. Indagini collaterali prendono spesso il sopravvento. Ogni occasione possibile viene sfruttata per tracciare, attraverso le varianti intermedie, la storia di immagini e locuzioni che assumeranno nei *Canti* una forma definitiva, così che il lettore si trova continuamente di fronte a divagazioni esatte e preziose, ma frammentarie. Simalmente alla poetica giovanile del Leopardi si sovrappongono riferimenti,

non sempre necessari, a posizioni più tarde che esulano dal tema. Il che aggiunge difficoltà a difficoltà, la poetica del Leopardi sfuggendo di per sé a una rigorosa obiettivazione critica, come l'A. stesso riconosce apertamente.

Infine, una inquadratura dei problemi leopardiani nel mondo culturale della Italia d'allora sarebbe stata desiderabile. Gli accenni al Vico ci sembrano molto opportuni ma piuttosto magri. Fin dalla giovinezza il Leopardi declina verso un tipo di pessimismo che, per quanto radicale e intenso, si appoggia a categorie filosofiche evidentemente povere. Una ondata pessimistica di questo genere cominciò con l'Alfieri (il Fubini la ha analizzata attentamente) e crebbe col Foscolo. Quest'ultimo, d'altra parte, cercò di arginarla opponendole — per usare i termini suoi, che riappaiono nel Leopardi — i "compensi" e le "illusioni" inerenti alla poesia in genere, e alla poesia greca in specie. Nei miti greci e nei loro rammoderati equivalenti il Foscolo iniettò anche una buona dose di sentimentalità romantica.

Lo studio dello Scheel, con la ricca e minuziosa conoscenza dell'intera opera leopardiana che egli possiede, sembra annunziare una monografia; speriamo quindi di riparlare quando che sia di tutto ciò. Ci auguriamo che egli, nel rifondere la vasta materia, voglia sacrificare, come già fece il suo Leopardi, ma non nella stessa misura, un po' di rigidezza filologica alle illusioni delle belle lettere. (ENRICO DE' NEGRI, *Columbia University*)

Du Romantisme au Second Empire, Mérimée (1803-1870). By Robert Baschet. Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1959. Pp. 288. *Mérimée.* By André Billy. Paris: Flammarion, 1959. Pp. 366. After Trahard's four-volume study on Mérimée, and Luppé's popular but competent one-volume life, Billy and Baschet have now written two more biographies. They were inspired primarily by the nearly completed (though not complete) *Correspondance générale*, Maurice Parturier's masterful accomplishment which has reawakened interest in Mérimée and given scholars both fresh material and a sounder basis on which to work. Billy has written a traditional biography, following this material closely; indeed, occasionally his study is nothing but a compilation, changing pronouns from first to third person, of the correspondence. He complements the letters with the scholarly material available and at times, particularly for the later life, reorganizes his study in terms of the major facets of Mérimée's personality: lover, scholar, courtier, etc. This makes a very readable book, but one might ask whether it brings us closer to Mérimée. Billy is certainly enlightening on some phases of Mérimé's career: the Libri affair, the work with historical monuments. He tries to clarify some of the obscure episodes in this life; the details of Mérimée's relations with Mme de Castellane or Jenny Dacquin, for example, are more lucidly presented here than anywhere else. He has the advantage of a thorough knowledge of the early nineteenth century. Baschet, an equally well informed student of Romanticism, attempts something more, a sort of spiritual biography, emphasizing Mérimée's psychological and sentimental career as seen in a series of incidents. In intent if not in form, his book resembles the "X par lui-même" series so often helpful in the correct reading and understanding of an author. The essential elements of Mérimée's

far from simple character are here clearly set forth. Despite the chronological arrangement of his study, he has all Mérimée at his fingertips.

One can only regret then the numerous typographical and even scholarly errors in his study, such as Nieuwenkerke for Nieuwerkerke, Boeswillwald for Boeswillwald, Hazlit for Hazlitt, *Djoûmane* deprived of its accent, and the absence in the bibliography of the important studies of Bräuer, Spoerri, and Pauphilet. Billy's book also contains the usual unfortunate misprints, including *Increzia* for *Lucrezia* (p. 216). The English reader is surprised by Georges Borrow; Pietranera acquires an accent and *Djoûmane* again at times does without. The subtitle of the *Episode de l'histoire de Russie* is *Les faux Démétrius*; by then, Mérimée was fascinated by three. These are unimportant matters, but there are several more central details where Billy is open to question. Jenny was not the only censor of *Lokis*; Mme Delessert, and perhaps others, joined in this task. Mérimée's description of how he wrote *La Guzla* must be taken with more than one grain of salt. One can speak of a "refroidissement" in his relations with Stendhal, but was this friendship ever really fervent? Billy decides perhaps too dogmatically such open questions as whether or not Fanny Lagden was ever Mérimée's mistress. Nor is he convincing when he proposes that Mérimée wrote stories in the 1830's because he needed money; Mérimée attributes mercenary motives to his literary activity, but this is only a way of attacking his own writing. I am not sure Billy has caught Jacquemont's character, so similar to that of Mérimée. He suggests Mérimée became a reactionary because of the Madrid riots he had witnessed and the Revolution of '48; but, like Baschet, he fails to note how early these political convictions were reached. He feels that Mérimée's "attitude froide, distante, secrète" was adopted in later life, but there is no evidence of any evolution in this respect; Mérimée seems to have had much the same personality all his life. Nor is it correct to say that Taine's determinism did not contradict Mérimée's personal beliefs; Mérimée's determinism is tempered by a strong moral bias.

Baschet is also often open to question. No mention is made of the admittedly bad play, *Les Deux Héritages*. Mérimée did participate in the editing of Napoleon's letters. Despite his protestations, he did submit *Arsène Guillot* to a group of ladies so that they might pass on its morality. One is surprised to read "les jeunes filles ne l'intéressaient guère" (p. 195); "que trop" would be more accurate. It is not clear, in *Une Femme est un diable*, that the woman Antonio had seen before was Mariquita. Baschet also underestimates the influence of Byron on Mérimée, who read and defended the English poet over a number of years, and not only because of Byron's realism; Byron was also a model for the dandy, and for the cynical revolt against society. He tries to exculpate Mérimée from the charge of Bonapartism levelled against him by the doctrinaires and republicans by claiming he criticized Napoleon III; this he certainly did, but usually because he felt Napoleon III was not autocratic enough. Nor does the instance quoted on page 235 exempt Mérimée from charges of "courtisanerie"; the picture of Mérimée as a court figure is not always a pretty one. To judge his works because of this political activity is of course another matter. Is it so sure that he wrote his stories uniquely for Valentine Delessert? At times he says so, but at times he implies he wrote them for

others. To say the last three stories were due to her inspiration is particularly questionable. And is it, finally, not rather redundant to take the trouble to prove, after Trahard, that Mérimée was not insensitive?

Billy, even more regrettably, can be questioned in his readings of Mérimée's fiction. *L'Abbé Aubain* does not present a "curé de village qui . . . s'éprend d'une belle paroissienne" (p. 155) and its hero in no way resembles Mérimée consoled for the loss of Mme Lacoste by Mme Delessert. To call *La Bataille* a "sorte de poème en prose imité et parodié de Byron" (p. 26) also seems a misreading. There are many things to be praised in the *Chronique*, but Marsan was quite justified in criticizing its composition and structure. The judgment that Mérimée was not particularly gifted for the fantastic would be questioned by Castex and other admirers of the *Vénus d'Ille* or the *Vision*. One is at times tempted to term Billy's comments on this literature superficial; he quickly passes over the final dissertation in *Carmen*, terming it a "trait de coquetterie intellectuelle" (p. 153), but similar conclusions occur in many of the tales and plays and must mean something. But then Billy is admittedly fascinated by the letters rather than the stories. His favorite work is the *Lettres d'Espagne*, and it is the correspondence, he asserts, and not the fiction which will assure Mérimée immortality.

Yet the extensive use the two biographers have made of this correspondence has its drawbacks. Both devote too little attention to Mérimée's first thirty years, a period in which the correspondence is scant but during which he wrote a good many of his works; and both give much attention to the years of the Second Empire, rich in correspondence, but during which he wrote only three stories. Neither takes sufficiently into account that in writing a letter Mérimée may well have adjusted what he was saying to the person to whom he was writing; the correspondence may not be too reliable a source of biographical information. Finally, because of their chronological organization, both seek in Mérimée a *devenir* which is perhaps not always there. Baschet's portrait is perspicacious; if anything, he fails to emphasize enough Mérimée's pessimism—his complaints, recriminations, despair over his health, anguish about his emotional life, dire predictions about the political and cultural future of the world; these are mentioned, but Baschet does not make clear that Mérimée was a contemporary of Baudelaire and Flaubert as well as of Hugo and Stendhal. Billy at times goes straight to the heart of Mérimée, as when he speaks of his "cruauté concise et coupante" (p. 361), but such remarks seem afterthoughts in what is too often the portrait of a good bourgeois of the Second Empire. Writing of Mérimée's historical studies, he concludes that "plus que d'un historien, sa vocation était celle d'un chroniqueur" (p. 159); if the chronicler simply recounts, whereas the historian questions, evaluates, judges and reconstructs, this may be true of Mérimée, but it is also rather true of Billy. (FRANK PAUL BOWMAN, University of California, Berkeley)

Victor Hugo: Carnet. Mars-avril 1856. Texte et choix de dessins. Publié par René Journet et Guy Robert. (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, vol. 24.) Paris: Les Belles-Lettres, 1959. Pp. 59 + 36 pl. Avec une érudition infatigable, les auteurs de ce fascicule continuent à enrichir notre connaissance

de Victor Hugo; déjà ils nous annoncent une édition critique de *Dieu*, et j'ai eu récemment l'occasion de donner ici-même une idée de l'importance de leurs travaux sur les *Contemplations* et sur les recueils lyriques qui les ont précédées (*RR*, LI [1960], 69-73). Le Carnet qui nous est rendu accessible aujourd'hui (*Bibl. Nat., nouv. acquisitions françaises* 13.447) semble au premier abord n'avoir qu'un mince intérêt; les auteurs de l'édition de l'Imprimerie nationale n'y avaient pas trouvé de quoi alimenter leurs Reliquats et il ne correspond qu'à un mois de la vie du poète; encore ce mois se passe-t-il à mettre la dernière main à l'édition parisienne des *Contemplations*. Mais "l'usine" hugolienne (le mot est de Hugo lui-même) ne s'arrête jamais, et ces quelques pages ont l'originalité de nous la montrer travaillant presque à vide: la permanence de certaines préoccupations, la continuité des thèmes, le constant bouillonnement de l'imagination n'en sont que plus frappants. Il y a mieux: la partie essentielle du carnet, ce sont les dessins, exécutés au crayon pour la majeure part. MM. Journet et Robert donnent pour chacun un commentaire précis et les plus importants sont reproduits photographiquement à la fin du volume.

Certains de ces dessins ne font qu'illustrer les thèmes poétiques que Hugo est en train d'ébaucher: le motif de l'échec de l'homme ou du prophète dans sa quête de Dieu y apparaît à plusieurs reprises, et c'est précisément l'époque où Hugo ébauche l'épisode de Pyrrhon dans le poème qui sera *Dieu*. Nous avons là certainement plus qu'une habitude de "visuel" au repos: Hugo prépare ses épisodes avec des schémas; on ne le prendra pas aisément en faute dans ses descriptions, car il s'est assuré de visu que le tableau est complet et cohérent; ceci, il me semble, est de règle lorsque, la scène décrite ayant une importance centrale, le décor fait plus que contribuer à la vraisemblance ou à créer une atmosphère, et devient un élément du drame-réalisme fonctionnel, parfois même symbolique (je pense à des passages comme celui de la "cave pénale" dans *l'Homme qui rit*, préparé par un dessin dans le manuscrit, fo. 368; et aussi aux croquis de mise en scène des drames).

Une autre série correspond aux "tas de pierres," aux vers ou fragments que Hugo notait et entassait comme ils lui venaient, réserve d'images et de rimes. Quelques uns de ces dessins peuvent être rattachés à des poèmes publiés (*Mors, La Chauve-souris*, etc.), d'autres, aux incidents de la vie quotidienne du poète. Dans les deux cas, le fantastique n'est jamais absent ni l'ironie, et ils sont souvent alliés (voir le dessin qui représente un décapité; la tête, tournée vers le tronc, flotte à hauteur du cou aux artères jaillissantes; le bras se lève dans un geste d'impatience; la légende: *Discussion!*). C'est là un caractère de l'humour noir de Hugo qu'on aurait tort de traiter superficiellement: il est évidemment apparenté à ses expériences de visionnaire (cf. *Promontorium somnii*, p. 303, "Un de ces faits[de la vie onirique] a on ne sait quoi de formidable; le voici: il existe une hilarité des ténèbres. Un rire nocturne flotte. Il y a des spectres gais [...]. L'art s'empare de cette gaîté sépulcrale"). Deux planches sont très curieuses, d'une facture et d'une inspiration qui font penser à Cocteau (pl. 21 et 28): l'une représente un *drummer* de jazz avant la lettre, à tête de crocodile; l'autre, un pianiste à tête de crocodile aussi, et sans doute du même orchestre, accompagnant une chanteuse cornue. Hugo-Maglia n'est jamais loin.

La majorité des dessins, toutefois, est consacrée à une fantasmagorie de formes: inquiétante succession d'êtres disloqués, bizarrement facétieux. Leur facture aura une place tout à fait à part dans l'œuvre de Hugo; les lignes sont héritées comme de pustules ou de végétations; certains dessins construits à partir de taches d'encre, de trainées de plume, illustrent des motifs littéraires habituels (par ex. une silhouette de ville au crépuscule); mais les autres se dérobent à l'explication: les auteurs écartent avec raison l'hypothèse d'un rapport avec les séances de spiritisme de Jersey, et croient plutôt à la libre interprétation de contours naturels, rochers, arbres, où l'animisme du poète reconnaît des êtres: "peut-être a-t-il vu le 'pâtre promontoire' avant d'en faire un symbole" (p. 8); (aux rapprochements suggérés par les auteurs, ajouter *Travailleurs de la mer*, "L'Archipel de la Manche," VI, 12-13). Quelques compositions où les "personnages sont hérisssés . . . de longs pédoncules" (p. 9) me font penser à un thème poétique de Hugo qui est aussi un thème de ses visions nocturnes: la métamorphose sous les yeux du lecteur, les mouvements obscurs de formes qui se décomposent dans l'obscurité. Plutôt donc qu'à un prolongement du fantastique des gravures romantiques (p. 9), qui était limité à un décor médiéval ou de roman noir et utilisait un arsenal légendaire connu, je croirais à une exploitation directe de l'imagination, des exercices pratiques d'"hallucination simple."

L'édition s'accompagne d'un riche appareil critique, qui, chaque fois que c'est possible, rattache les brouillons de poèmes à des œuvres déjà connues. Sont aussi publiés: la liste du service de presse des *Contemplations*, la description d'un autre carnet de 1856 (juin), un catalogue des dessins de Hugo à la Nationale.

Notules. P. 10, sur Hugo et Goya: le poète semble n'avoir connu les *Désastres* qu'en 1870 (*Carnets intimes 1870-71*, p. 80). P. 14: les vers de fo. 2 semblent préfigurer Gilliatt, *TM*, 1.1.6 et 1.7.2. P. 15: fo. 5b est à rapprocher de *Misérables* 4.14.1, p. 1179 (et 1756). P. 41: le fragment du manuscrit 13.432 est à rapprocher de *Contemplations*. 6.26.660. (MICHAEL RIFFATERRE, Columbia University)

Alphonse Karr: sa vie et son œuvre (1808-1890). By Derek P. Scales. Genève: Droz, 1959. Pp. 127. Mr. Scales' book, the elaboration of his thesis for a Parisian doctorat d'université, is one of two academic studies of the past decade that honor Alphonse Karr and rescue that oracle of *le bon sens* from more than half a century of relative oblivion. Novelist, journalist, and famed as a gardener from Etretat to Nice, Karr is remembered in the encyclopedias as the author of *Sous les tilleuls*, a very successful first novel of 1832, and as the witty editor of *Les Guêpes*, monthly pamphlets published during the July Monarchy and noted for their barbed social comment. His later fiction and lifetime of journalism usually receive short notice.

The author of this monograph describes his approach as biographical, critical, and bibliographical; the emphasis, however, is on Karr's life story, with incidental reference to his work. "L'auteur de *Sous les tilleuls*," "Le maître des *Guêpes*," and "Le jardinier de Nice," are headings that cover the main portion of his career; and a short final chapter essays an evaluation of Karr's

talent and character. The study closes with an excellent bibliography. For biographical data the author leans heavily on material that Karr himself provides in *Le Livre de bord*, but he makes full use, as well, of the appropriate articles and memoirs. He was fortunate, too, in having access to Karr's unpublished correspondence, furnished by Violette Bouyer-Karr, the journalist's grand-daughter.

Despite this varied arsenal of information, the presentation tends to be chronological rather than analytical, and at times arouses our curiosity without entirely satisfying it. We are told, for example, that feminine influence in Karr's life was considerable (p. 73), only to be dismissed with a few of his aphorisms concerning women. As we are dealing with the ironist of *Les Femmes*, and *Encore les femmes*, this is meager fare indeed. It is regrettable, too, that in evaluating Karr's personality and philosophy of life, the author makes but passing reference to the introspective *Voyage autour de mon jardin*. Although he notes that Karr offers the very best of himself in that charming book, he does not explain further.

In its critical phase, the study makes little effort to judge Karr's novels in the literary context of the nineteenth century, and gives us, as a rule, brief summaries in lieu of discussion. The author seems content to follow the encyclopedias and "type" Karr as the author of the romantic *Sous les tilleuls*. But it is worth noting that the other thirteen books are mainly naturalistic in spirit—*Hortense*, for instance, offers a pre-*Madame Bovary* sample of "Bovarysme." Karr was hardly a Balzac; a social critic rather than a creative artist, he improvised as he wrote and is often guilty of repetition and shallow characterizations. But it seems arbitrary, in a study of Karr's work, to dismiss his novels in wholesale lots, asking: ". . . qui lira jamais *Raoul Desloges*, *Clovis Gosselin*, ou la *Pénélope normande*?" (p. 108). The first two might interest students of educational theory; and the third, a resounding melodrama, may still have readers, as Espasa-Calpe publishes a Spanish translation of it. *Feu Bressier*, Karr's cynical commentary on love and marriage; *Fa dièze*, an ironic obsession novel that may have inspired Sandea's *Un Héritage*; and *La Famille Alain*, with its sensitive treatment of adolescence and schoolgirl "crushes," all receive short shrift. And finally, *Hélène*, Karr's surprising swan song, a satire of Third Republic society, is relegated to a footnote. These are strange lacunae in a scrutiny of Karr's work.

The account of Karr's journalism concentrates on the high point of his newspaper career, the early *Guêpes* (1839-46). Discussion of these pamphlets is, of course, difficult owing to their heterogeneous content. In this brief analysis of them, Karr appears as a critic of the bourgeois-dominated July Monarchy, and as a gossip. The author perhaps over-emphasizes the latter aspect, devoting much detail to the waspish item that inspired Louise Colet's carving-knife attack on Karr, and to the other well-meant, but indiscreet item denouncing the poetic reference to Adèle Hugo in Sainte-Beuve's *Livre d'amour*. In treating the political side of the *Guêpes*, however, Mr. Scales neglects to emphasize their conservative, Bonaldian leitmotif, the dominant theme in all of Karr's later writing. The conclusion that "l'intérêt des *Guêpes* a disparu en grande partie avec leur actualité . . ." (p. 105) is a truism applicable to the bulk of

yesterday's press, and a bit harsh toward these papers that reflect the cross-currents of an era.

There is a good sketch of Karr's activities in 1848, journalistic and political, and the analysis of his newspaper work ends with a discussion of his views on the Franco-Prussian war, and of his antagonism toward the Third Republic. One feels that a glance at Karr's religious ideas, at this point, and mention of his evolution from a mid-century Voltairean to the defender of the embattled Church in the eighties, would have filled out the portrait of the nostalgic reactionary of Saint-Raphaël.

In general the book is smoothly written, buttressed with helpful footnotes, and rich in examples of Karrian prose. It is unfortunate that an apparent fear of overrating Alphonse Karr has led Mr. Scales to accept ready-made estimates of his work, to slight many facets of it, and to give us a rather peripheral study.
 (ROBERT W. KRETSCH, *Queens College*)

André Suarès, critique. Par Gabrielle Savet. Paris: Didier, 1959. Pp. 187. Le livre de Mme Savet a le mérite d'ouvrir publiquement une carrière où tout est encore à exploiter. Diverse et obsédée, retentissante et solitaire, capable de susciter tous les enthousiasmes et toutes les exaspérations, abrupte à force d'évidence, invisible à force de présence, l'œuvre de Suarès se dresse intacte au carrefour du siècle et réclame impérieusement l'attention qu'on lui avait refusée jusqu'à présent. Si l'on commence par trouver irritant et anachronique ce personnage de mousquetaire qui aurait fait retraite, dans la tradition de Barbey d'Aurevilly, il faut en fin de compte s'incliner devant la constance sourcilleuse qu'il a apportée à cette représentation et les extraordinaires vertus qui s'y rendent manifestes. Sensible à tous les arts, Suarès fut avant tout un moraliste frémissant, passionné de grandeur, et qui interrogeait les œuvres pour découvrir le secret des hommes dont il se voulait le pair. Mme Savet a donc eu parfaitement raison de pratiquer sa coupe comme elle l'a fait, et c'est sans se tromper qu'elle voit dans les portraits—d'écrivain, d'artiste ou de cité—le genre où Suarès a donné toute sa mesure. Ceci dit, sa méthode appelle certaines réserves.

La première partie de l'ouvrage est surtout consacrée à l'élucidation des idées générales de Suarès. Trois chapitres essaient de préciser ce qu'on sait sur la vie de l'écrivain, sa conception de l'art et de la critique. Relevons quelques inexactitudes dans les pages biographiques. Brunetièvre n'a pas aidé Suarès à publier son portrait d'Ibsen, il l'a publié. *Remarques* n'ont pas paru après la guerre de 14, mais pendant. Gabriel Bounoure n'est pas abbé. Mme Savet rapporte, sur l'attitude de Suarès pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale, des traits qui ne coïncident pas avec d'autres témoignages de la même période: on aimerait savoir quelles sont ses sources. Lorsqu'elle cite, c'est pour raconter une anecdote probablement vraie, mais de nature à dépister totalement le lecteur sur le caractère de Suarès, puisqu'elle ne s'insère pas dans un portrait circonstancié de l'écrivain. En même temps que ces maladresses, on pourrait reprocher à Mme Savet certain penchant à ne pas nommer tous les critiques dont elle fait état. Elle se complait dans le vague. Elle écrit par exemple: "Certains critiques en sont même venus à expliquer sa nature comme le résultat de deux tempéraments différents, celui du Midi et du Nord" (p. 16). Ces critiques sont-ils

anonymes? "L'on a été jusqu'à se demander, avec un semblant de raison, si la beauté, la signification de la tragédie grecque ne lui échappaient point" (p. 47). Diantre, l'accusation est sérieuse. Qui l'a formulée, et à quel propos? Mme Savet imite de Conrart le silence prudent. Elle semble ignorer aussi, si l'on en juge par sa bibliographie, que le no. 329 des *Cahiers du Sud* (1955) était en partie consacré à Suarès, et contenait d'importants articles de Luc-André Marcel et de René Girard. Même silence sur une note des *Yale French Studies* (Spring-Summer 1949) qui traitait précisément de la méthode critique de Suarès. Laissons ces vétilles. Dans l'ensemble, Mme Savet s'acquitte consciencieusement de sa tâche, avec une patience qui n'évite pas tous les obstacles.

Mme Savet cherche à dégager les grandes lignes d'une conception de l'art et de la critique, à partir des déclarations fragmentaires de Suarès. Ce pourraient être les pages les plus intéressantes de son étude. Mais elle ne prend pas assez de recul, elle reste collée aux textes et aux aphorismes qu'elle s'ingénie à coudre ensemble vaille que vaille. On se perd dans un dédale d'où toute perspective est absente. Mme Savet donne souvent l'impression de connaître l'œuvre de Suarès comme on pourrait connaître une ville d'après son plan: on connaît la position exacte de chaque rue, mais on ignore à quoi elle ressemble, si les magasins importants s'y trouvent, s'il ferait bon s'y promener ou même y vivre. L'auteur cite à bon escient; mais en dehors des rubriques générales sous lesquelles elle les range, elle n'organise guère ses citations. Certaines d'entre elles exigeraient d'ailleurs d'être vérifiées. Celle de la p. 61, par exemple, qui attire l'attention par une coquille, est tronquée sans avertissement, et la référence est inexacte. D'autres sont arbitrairement datées. Mme Savet écrit: "Dès 1911, les idées de Suarès sur Cervantès se font jour dans le volume *Variables*," dont elle cite ensuite une phrase (p. 94). *Variables* a été publié en 1929. Suarès indique qu'il y a réuni des textes écrits en 1911 et 1921. Qu'est-ce qui incline Mme Savet à choisir la première date? Si elle a des raisons, ici encore on aimerait les connaître.

Il n'est certes pas facile de se retrouver, au premier abord, dans une œuvre très vaste qui se présente sous les espèces d'une poussière de phrases, et Suarès peut passer pour le moins systématique des écrivains. Mais cette poussière est aimantée, et l'expérience de Suarès aboutit à un petit nombre d'attitudes fondamentales dont tout le reste n'est que variante et pouvait être déduit. Voilà ce qu'il importait de mettre en évidence. La méthode que Mme Savet a adoptée à cet effet n'est pas des plus heureuses. Elle traduit une abdication plutôt qu'une victoire. Les deux tiers du livre deviennent une paraphrase ou un recensement continu des opinions de Suarès sur les divers écrivains, peintres, musiciens, etc. auxquels il s'est intéressé. Pas un jugement de valeur, pas la moindre prise de possession qui marque un véritable travail de critique. Une anthologie eût été plus satisfaisante. Il n'y a vraiment rien à dire sur cette seconde partie de l'ouvrage, sinon qu'elle est incomplète puisque Mme Savet ne cite ou ne résume pas tout ce que Suarès a écrit sur Zola, Shakespeare ou Léonard. On peut toutefois se demander pourquoi l'auteur n'a pas commencé son chapitre *Littérature: grands portraits* par Tolstoï plutôt qu'Ibsen, puisque c'est l'ordre chronologique même de l'œuvre suarésien, ou pourquoi elle n'a pas cherché à situer ces portraits dans une tradition qui passe par Saint-Simon et Sainte-

Beuve, pourquoi elle ne les a pas étudiés à la lumière de ce qu'ont fait, dans le même sens, des contemporains comme Romain Rolland, Elie Faure et Adrien Mithouard. On se frotte également les yeux en ne trouvant ici aucune allusion à Pascal, alors que Suarès lui a consacré au moins trois essais importants au cours de sa vie, et que les *Pensées* sont un des livres qui l'ont le plus hanté. Cette lacune est inexplicable.

Où que l'on se tourne, on se sent d'autant plus déçu que Mme Savet, son entreprise, et les qualités dont elle témoigne par endroits, laissaient présager mieux. Peut-être faut-il attribuer les faiblesses de cette étude, après tout, à une excessive adhésion: à trop connaître un écrivain, à trop épouser sa pensée, on devient parfois incapable de la faire comprendre. On ne peut que la reproduire. Quoi qu'il en soit, réprouvons le système qui exige la publication de thèses dont l'utilité aurait dû se borner à *valoir* un diplôme. Suarès et, j'espère, Mme Savet méritaient mieux. (MARIO MAURIN, Bryn Mawr College)

L'Expression de la passion intérieure dans le style de Bernanos romancier. Par Pierre Maubrey. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1959. Pp. xvii + 172. This is not the study of Bernanos' style we have been waiting for. As the tautology of the title suggests, the entire job is fuzzy and, worse, persistently arbitrary. Bernanos deserves better.

The first sixty-two pages are devoted to the novelist as a man who felt a vocation and a sense of mission, and who was animated by a consuming passion in the theological sense. (Let us not ask what *passion intérieure* is, exactly, or when we may expect a study of *passion extérieure*.) The rest of the book purports to examine how this *passion* determined the departures of the style of the novels from current stylistic norms. At no point does the author examine his premise that all of Bernanos' fiction "expresses" this spiritual intensity or the chance that the intensity is not invariably spiritual.

How do we tell just when Bernanos is being consumed by *passion* and when he is merely in a monumental rage? The author largely avoids the issue, when he is revealing what kind of man his subject was, by an ultra-careful selection of documents. Never would one suspect that Bernanos had been subject to fits of paralyzing anger or that, on several occasions, he had to be hospitalized for treatment of his *crises d'angoisse*. There is hardly a suggestion of Bernanos' inability to distinguish minor personal differences from disagreement about first principles, of his irritability about money, of his ability to speak in almost exactly the same tone about his despair for Europe and about his despair over the unavailability of his motorcycle. Certain letters, for example those to Amoroso Lima, are quoted repeatedly whereas certain others, such as those which reveal Bernanos' harshness to his friends, are barely mentioned and then indirectly. One would also think that the polemic works would be relevant to the portrait of their author, but Dr. Maubrey systematically leaves them to one side.

This arbitrary selection of the material for the portrait prepares the reader for a certain arbitrariness in the study of the style itself. The preparation is not wasted. We learn, for example, that the characteristic sentence of *Sous le soleil de Satan* is the *phrase condensée*, and examples are given, but no effort

is made to tell us what proportion of the sentences show traces of condensation; we are told that binary rhythms predominate in *L'Imposture*, but again no definite information is furnished as to the extent. In the chapter on sentence structure we find categories like "phrase elliptique," and "phrase inversée"—which are perfectly verifiable—but others like "phrase dardée," "phrase martelée," and "phrase tourbillon" which depend for their existence on an a priori decision of the author as to their effect on him. Even the chapters called "Payages et portraits" and "Les Outils de la langue," which strike me as by far the best in the book and which are by far the least pretentious, would benefit considerably by the presence of indexes, frequency charts, statistics and, in general, a larger proportion of precise, objective information. Even in them, Dr. Maubrey is too disposed to let his impressionism masquerade as science.

Where the work is not at its best, the analysis of the style is vitiated by failures in critical perspicacity—the expression may be taken as a synonym for arbitrariness—in the first sixty-two pages. For example, Dr. Maubrey makes a considerable point of the "phrase à diptyques," which he also describes as a "phrase à deux volets," and which I take to be an essentially binary sentence. These turn up, it appears, in *L'Imposture* and *La Joie* and—one gathers from Dr. Maubrey—well they should, since these two novels are the two panels of a diptych. The veteran reader of Bernanos knows what he means, of course: both novels are about the good and the bad priest, and about the good and evil forces which play about the innocent head of Chantal de Clergerie. But does Mr. Maubrey know what we are talking about when we object that these two novels are *two* only by accident, that Bernanos conceived them as a single piece, that he was forced to sunder them because he needed money, and that later he regretted bitterly ever having had to do them this violence?

And even more startling example of how his procedures can lead him astray occurs when, by a fiat as arbitrary as any in Professor Hatzfeld's own recent study of contemporary French literature,¹ he proclaims *Le Journal d'un curé de campagne* to be the finest of Bernanos' novels and his crowning stylistic triumph, full of "luminosité" and of "calme assurance." Many, including the late Albert Béguin (who felt that the *Journal* was for those who could not stomach the stronger meat of *Monsieur Ouine*), would disagree as to the place of the *Journal* in the Bernanos canon; but we need not quarrel about matters of taste. What is to the point is that the triumph is not directly one of style but rather one of mastery of narrative art. Twice previously Bernanos had tried seeing the lives and works of his priest-heroes from the outside, as they would look to a sympathetic third person; in the *Journal* he adopts the perspective of the hero himself and entrusts him with the narrating. This radical change in what current criticism calls point of view has one extremely important effect: the style of the narration becomes an instrument for characterizing the narrator. The Curé d'Ambricourt must sound consistently like himself or be out of character. And, obsessively haunted by his characters as he was, Bernanos would have had to be a feeble novelist indeed to let his hero sound like the author of *Sous le soleil de satan*!

1. *Trends and Styles in Twentieth-Century French Literature*, Catholic University of America Press, 1958.

This book suffers from separating the study of style from the study of literary art in general, from overconfidence in ascribing to Bernanos such literary intentions as would be appropriate to the Bernanos à l'eau de rose of the preliminary study, and perhaps even more from leaping to hastily drawn conclusions. Is it proper, for instance, to use the manuscript materials described by Béguin in his edition of *Un Mauvais Rêve* as evidence that Bernanos was one of those writers who go through *afres* in revising their work? It is a fact that Bernanos wrote in copy books, using the left-hand pages for first draft and the opposite ones for a revision, and then copying out a third stage to send to the printer. But what the left-hand pages show is a Bernanos writing so rapidly that later the novelist himself is unable to read numerous ends-of-paragraphs; the right-hand pages show a revision which does not attempt to re-write the least legible parts; and the total effect is of a novelist whose printer is waiting and who wants to produce printable copy with the greatest economy of time rather than one for whom the choice of words is a perpetual struggle.

Bernanos may or may not have been a great stylist, but he was surely an important enough writer and a big enough man to merit having the whole truth told about him, just as his novels merit being studied with more detachment, less arbitrariness and greater care. (W. M. FROHOCK, *Harvard University*)

Pretexts: Reflections on Literature and Morality. By André Gide. Selected, edited and introduced by Justin O'Brien, translated by Angelo P. Bertocci, Jeffrey J. Carre, Justin O'Brien, and Blanche Price. New York: Meridian, 1959. Pp. 348. Gide's reputation as a literary critic has been firmly established since early in the century. His studies of Dostoevsky and Montaigne, his *Journal des Faux-Monnayeurs* with its insights into the craft of fiction, his *Interviews imaginaires* written during the Second World War, as well as the illuminating fragments of literary criticism scattered through his *Journals*—all these have been available in English translation for some time.

The present volume, containing representative essays selected from four major volumes of collected critical writings, fills admirably the need for a more complete knowledge of the principles and practice of Gide's criticism. The four translators have wrestled successfully with some formidable problems, and have emerged with a remarkably unified and faithful rendering of Gide's style. Professor O'Brien's excellent introduction, as well as his unobtrusive and succinctly informative explanatory notes at the beginning of each section of the work, gives the volume the kind of setting it requires and deserves.

Gide's eclecticism, which might be dangerous were it not for the sound erudition which supports it, is illustrated by the ease with which he moves from ancient fable to *Dada*, from the Arabian nights to the Bible, from Russian, German and English literature to his own beloved French. He draws his examples, comparisons and images from the realms of art, music, natural history, philosophy and politics with a sureness of touch which many a specialist might envy. At times, with a broad sweep, he characterizes a period, a school or an author in a way that seems definitive until he reminds us of his distrust of the definitive. At other times, an exploration in depth of a line, a stanza, or a poem of Baudelaire or Hugo, of a particular facet of Proust's genius, of a

principle underlying Valéry's poetic theory, or a single work of Stendhal, makes us realize that his broadest generalizations are firmly based on a meticulous and scholarly reading of the works involved.

The variety of style revealed in these pages is truly remarkable, ranging from the aphorism and the portrait to the more sustained eloquence of the public lecture, from the intimate tone of his tributes to Wilde and Valéry to the polemical brio of his controversies with Barrès and Maurras over nationalism, with Faguet over Baudelaire, and with Bérenger over the problem of obscenity in literature. Such variety is matched only by the diversity of his preoccupations. His concern about the intellectual climate of the years preceding and following the First World War, his desire to keep open all possible lines of communication in Europe, his views on Germany and the German people, are recorded here with a depth and urgency that prevent them from appearing dated. Gide's highly personal interpretations of Greek myths, so convincingly used by Professor O'Brien as the structural pattern for his *Portrait of André Gide*, are amply represented in this volume. Gide's penetrating observations on more general topics—fluence in literature, theories of the novel, classicism in art—stand as models of lucid exposition.

It would be pointless to regret that Gide wrote only a few works of sustained criticism. Valuable as his essays on Dostoevsky and Montaigne are, they have had perhaps less influence than the free play of this critical intelligence upon a vast range of subjects. "The artist never really likes to practice criticism; discussion broadens the subject beyond all limits. What makes a picture possible for the painter is the fixed limit of the frame." By couching so much of his criticism in informal jottings, random thoughts, notes, conversations, Gide has avoided the limitations of the frame; he avoids that diffusion of light which so often accompanies the exhaustive treatment. The sharp focus of his thought on a specific point gives this book its highest value.

The praise which Gide accords to Remy de Gourmont's *Promenades littéraires* might well be applied to Gide and to this volume: "I like him for not exhausting his subject. I like him for taking his leave after walking along with us a while, for not accompanying us too far. We are grateful to books only for the initial impulse. We don't like to have people watch over our steps to the end." (WILLIAM S. ROGERS, Trinity College, Toronto)

Stages on Sartre's Way. By Robert Champigny. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959. Pp. 199. Robert Champigny is a critic whose work seldom leaves the reader indifferent. He has published a number of short articles on Sartre, some of which are original and penetrating. So much so, as a matter of fact, that one was led to expect a great deal from the present study. It is therefore somewhat disappointing—and perhaps inevitable—to find that *Stages on Sartre's Way* does not quite come up to those expectations.

Unquestionably, however, this is a worthy contribution to Sartre criticism. Stimulating insights into Sartre's mind and art are occasionally revealed as M. Champigny points out the various milestones that line the road leading to a "catastrophe" faintly reminiscent of Mallarmé's. But the fact that Mallarmé's name remains in the mind of at least this reviewer may perhaps indicate one

of the book's shortcomings. For Sartre, whatever else one might call him, is definitely not a poet. On the other hand, M. Champigny is: he is perfectly at home with poetry and the creative process. As a result, the most fascinating pages of this study are made up of those portions of the first two chapters—entitled respectively "Mud and Music," and "Water and Earth"—where he probes into the significance of Sartre's imagery.

As one reads on, it becomes increasingly evident that *Stages on Sartre's Way* leans more heavily on the side of the creative essay than on that of traditional scholarship. Thus, there is no bibliography as such, merely a list of "Works Cited" (pp. 197-99); among these, the author seems to lay the greatest emphasis on essays by Bachelard, Barthes, and Bespaloff. Once the reader is aware of this bias, he can, of course, readily accept it: the book will still increase his appreciation and understanding of Sartre.

This aspect of M. Champigny's essay, however rewarding in part, nevertheless has its liabilities. These are best brought to light in the chapter entitled "Tragedy and Freedom." Here, in a discussion of *Les Mouches*, continual reference is made to the Greek sources of the play; but the comparisons and contrasts that are drawn are presented from a subjective point of view, often colored by Sartre's own idea of Greek tragedy. In a footnote, the warning is given that "the remarks which we made in this chapter are not intended to pass for comments on Greek tragedy in general"; but phrases frequently used in the body of the chapter ("the Greek dramatists," "the Greek moral man," "Greek tragedy," "Aristotelian catharsis") give the opposite impression and arouse in the reader a constant desire to quarrel with the author. We are referred to the "Greek fable" or the "Greek myth" (of Orestes) as if it were identical with the plays of Aeschylus and Euripides, all versions being viewed in aggregate as the "Greek source" of Sartre's play. The point is also made that *Les Mouches* could be called a Romantic drama, as opposed to a tragedy: but classical scholars have made the same point with reference to the *Orestes* of Euripides. The result of all this is that M. Champigny's points become blurred and the undeniable value there is in contrasting *Les Mouches* with its sources has been greatly reduced. Finally, in the same chapter, a quotation from the essay "La Liberté cartésienne" has been slightly altered in order to be fitted into its new syntactical context: "nous ne sommes pas sur le terrain des passions de l'âme" has been rendered "we are *no longer* in the field of the passions of the soul." Not very serious in this instance, this can become a dangerous practice.

In short, in spite of its title and some of the author's intentions, this is a book that is more profitably read as a collection of independent essays dealing with Sartre's literary production until 1952. Viewed as such, it is a very good collection. (LEON S. ROUDIEZ, *Columbia University*)

FURTHER COMMENT

Voltaire's Catalogue of His Library at Ferney. In a recent issue of this periodical (L [December, 1959], 292-94), Professor William F. Bottiglia has published a most thorough and obviously carefully prepared review of our recent study

of Voltaire's books. It may be doubted, however, whether his discussion fully carries out his intention of giving the reader an adequate idea of the nature of this catalogue and the severe limitations under which it had to be composed.

The reviewer states, for example, that "many entries in list A . . . remain unidentified." But any user of the catalogue will quickly perceive that the percentage of unidentified titles is in fact small. Moreover, it is clear that only someone actually present in Leningrad among Voltaire's books during the greater part of the time spent on this study could have the slightest chance of identifying positively such vague entries as: "1 Turquie," "1 livret qui contient des anecdotes mss.," "3 Langage en anglais," "3 Pots pourris sur les jésuites," or "1 . . . pièces italiennes." Surely it is necessary to be realistic in these matters.

Professor Bottiglia remarks in the text of his review that "the most recent inventory taken at Leningrad gives a total of 6814 items." This of course contrasts sharply with our figure of 3278 titles. In a footnote, on the other hand, he adds: "Lublinsky has since explained, however, that this number designates, not items, but volumes." It is obvious that, with the large number of many-volumed sets in Voltaire's library, the number of titles would be considerably less than the number of volumes. Thus the later discovery of the different interpretation of the word *item* evidently cancels in the footnote the implied criticism in the text, although without specifically saying so.

On page 293 of his review, Professor Bottiglia has noted a very large number of discrepancies between list A, the original Ferney catalogue, and list B, our own alphabetical identification of titles. The reader might be led to infer, inevitably, that these numerous divergencies constitute gross errors amounting perhaps even to carelessness on the part of the two editors. "In over a dozen instances," he observes, "a folio entry refers to two possible works by the same author." But let us examine again the case cited, that of numbers 2114 and 2115. The original entry in the Ferney catalogue, list A, is vague, like so many others. It reads simply: "2 montalembert." It is therefore impossible to say which two-volume work of Montalembert is meant. However, the two titles which are given under the indicated numbers both bear call numbers which show that they are actually part of the Voltaire library. Thus the important thing is not the failure to make a more accurate identification here between these two entries, but the fact that both of these titles were after all among Voltaire's books.

The same observation applies in general to other similar remarks by Professor Bottiglia on this page, whether they concern works by the same or by different authors. Nor do the discrepancies in number of volumes nor the inability in many cases to determine which edition of a given work Voltaire owned, have usually the crucial importance which the reviewer appears to attribute to them. It would of course have been desirable to attain complete accuracy in these and in other respects. This will be possible, however, only when at length the scientific catalogue, in preparation since 1930 and now in typewritten form at Leningrad, becomes available in print. Meanwhile, the editors, working for the most part at long range, have done what is possible at present in making public a list of Voltaire's books.

A glance at the photographed facsimiles in the frontispiece and opposite pages 80 and 86 of our book will aid the reader in forming an estimate of the sometimes insuperable difficulties involved in trying to translate this crude list, which was the Ferney catalogue, into a form intelligible and, we hope, usable now by Voltaire scholars. In evaluating the work, it is necessary to take account of the conditions under which it had to be carried to completion. In this respect, the editors stand by their detailed explanations at the beginning of the *Introduction*:

"This is not, and in the nature of the case could not be, a perfect catalogue. Begun in small part many years ago in Leningrad, the work has been completed slowly and under great difficulties at a distance of thousands of miles from today's home of Voltaire's library." We hope, however, that it will have "its own intrinsic value and interest" and that, "in some of the more difficult bibliographic identifications which have cost us much labour, it may offer a contribution to the definitive catalogue so long awaited with eagerness by scholars interested in Voltaire" (pp. 9-10). (GEORGE R. HAVENS, *Ohio State University*, and NORMAN L. TORREY, *Columbia University*)

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